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### In an Ocean of Reform, Ukraine Is an Island of **Economic Catastrophe**

By Lee Hockstader Washington Post Service

KIEV --- Scene of some of the 20th century's worst man-made catastrophes, Ukraine is in the grip of another: an economic disaster that is fast transforming the rich rolling farmland of the steppe into a cradle of abject poverty. The Ukrainian government, led by Soviet-era

apparatchiks who have shed the Communist label but not the mentality, has shunned significant moves toward Western-style capitalism and is on its way to resurrecting the structures of the old, state-directed economy. Last week, the government rolled back some of its reformist half-measures even as it continued to churn out reams of devalued money to keep obsolete state factories and mines and inefficient farms running.

The results are a monthly inflation rate of 70 percent, highest of the former Soviet republics; a currency that has collapsed against both the dollar and the ruble; a budget deficit wildly out of control, plunging production and sinking

living standards. "If we continue like this for only a few more months, it will mean the absolute destruction of the Ukrainian economy," said Yuri Nechayev, an economist at the Market Reforms Center, a research facility here.

President Leonid M. Kravchuk, once head of agitation and propaganda for the Ukrainian Communist Party, has ruled ont the changes sweeping most of Eastern Europe, "We can't merely follow in the steps of other countries, as Ukraine has its own specific features," he said last week. "Ukraine must find its own model for economic transformation."

Ukraine, which has 52 million people and ,800 nuclear warbcads, is rapidly being transformed into an island of reaction and potential instability in a spreading sea of reform. The selling of state-owned firms, which is picking up speed in Russia and booming in much of Eastern Europe, is practically a nonstarter in. Ukraine, Economists say that all but perhaps 5 percent of the enterprises in Ukraine remain in tate hands.

In the countryside, where farmers labor over some of Europe's most fertile black soil, the karbovanets, as the money is called, is losing its value altogether as peasants turn to barter with more stable instruments - pigs or tires or vodka - to conduct business. In the villages of the Carpathian Mountains near the Polish bor-

der, practically no one accepts karbovanets. Transactions are in dollars only. In the cities, a better-than-average monthly salary of 400,000 karbovanets — about \$16 at

the street exchange rate — is not enough to fill a tank with gasoline. "For most people of my age and background, it's incredibly difficult to live," said Sasha, 34, a translator in Kiev with a university-level education. "For people on a pension, it's practically

impossible. Sasha's mother, a retired irrigation engineer left work four years ago with a savings of 10,000 rubles, which at the time seemed enough to see her through old age. Now 63, she has seen her nest egg wiped out. She survives only with the help of her daughter, who earns a hard-curren-

The value of the karbovanets has shrunk from 3,100 for \$1 in early June to roughly 25,000 for \$1 today. The prices double every six weeks or so.

"History shows that hyperinflation never lasts long," a Western economist in Kiev said. "Either it leads to total financial disintegration and the destruction of the social fabric," or drastic and painful measures are introduced to halt the economic slide.

Mr. Kravchuk's government has ignored such warnings. Diplomats say there are strong indications — although little hard evidence — that the government is rife with corruption as officials and enterprise directors rush to line their pockets before the crash. It is widely claimed that those in favor with the government, particularly former Communists, are receiving loans and credits that are the practical equivalent of gifts --- since the loans will be repaid in vastly devalued corrency, if at all.

More charitable analysts say that Mr. Krav-chuk's economic policies are driven largely by his determination to avoid the massive layoffs that a sudden shift to market economics would entail. After centuries of Russian domination of Ukraine, Mr. Kravchuk has evidently been wary of social upheaval that could tempt Russian intervention and jeopardize his country's oew-found independence.

Ukrainian history is already rich in unmiti-gated disaster and suffering. Nomadic invaders, plagues, wars and political havoc soaked the steppe with blood since before the time of Christ, Stalin's man-made famine and purges left millions of Ukrainian peasants dead in the See UKRAINE, Page 8

NOT THIS TIME - A weeping woman trying to join an evacuation convoy Monday in Sarajevo was stopped by a Bosnian military policeman. The first major evacuation since May is to take a total of 642 people, mostly Serbs, to Belgrade in stages, Page 2.

### **Opposition to NAFTA Unites Uneasy Left**

By Thomas B. Edsall

ington Post Service WASHINGTON - The president of the international electrical workers union, William H. Bywater, does not shy from one of the toughest choices facing organized labor io the debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement

"I tell any Democrat" in Congress preparing to vote for the agreement that "I am not going to support any of them, period," said Mr. Bywater, whose union's full oame is the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers. "That is it. I will try to get a candidate to run against them in the primary. Mr. Bywater's hard-line stand represents oot

only the culmination of a 180-degree shift on trade policy by the nation's unions over the last two generations, but also a radical change in the progressive and liberal tradition in American politics.

The agreement, known as NAFTA, has captured the discontent of the American left, For

Ross Perot says that a hit squad is after him because of his opposition to NAFTA. Page 3.

the opposition in the environmental, labor, human rights, animal protection, social justice and civil rights movements, the agreement has become a canvas on which to paint their anger. NAFTA is the target, but the anger encompasses far more: the sense of betrayal by the

Clinton administration: the frustration of steadily declining wages for workers: the suspicion of corporations they portray as willing to sacrifice employees and the environment to the bottom line; a fury at what is seen as a new and arrogant corporate, political and academic

The opposition to the agreement has drawn in many -hut by no means all -of the activist groups involved in the causes of rights for blacks, women, workers and even animals. It has also attracted supporters of the powerful regulatory structure overseeing the environment, the workplace and the consumer market-

Opponents contend that the trade agreement See TREATY, Page 3

### Japan Lists **475 Business** Regulations **To Phase Out**

#### But Ambitious Goals, For Clinton's Perusal, Are Lacking in Detail

#### By James Sterngold

New York Times Service TOKYO - A first salvo was fired Monday in what is likely to be a long battle to reduce the government's power over Japan's minutely regulated economy, as a commission appointed by the prime minister issued a list of 475 regulations that it said should be eased or eliminated.

The interim report, hastily prepared so that Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa can presem it to President Bill Clinton when they meet this month in Seattle, is ambidious in its breadth but conspicuous in its lack of details.

The commission's proposals include such things as making it simpler to open large department stores and liquor shops, encouraging housing construction and easing quotas on fish imports. They also call for creating Japan's first product-liability law and — something that would mark a minor revolution in a country that permits dozens of cartels - strictly applying anti-monopoly laws.

The report offers a vision of an economy making a historic turn toward freer markets, saying at one point, "Economic activity should be founded on the basic idea of freedom from regulations in principle, with regulated areas the exception.

Gaishi Hiraiwa, head of a powerful business organization and chairman of the commission. said at a news conference, "Our position is there are no sacred cows."

Still, several people said there was little reason to believe that the plan would have any more success than several previous ones aimed at reducing Japan's massive trade surplus and presenting Japan as a nonthreatening citizen of the world.

In addition, an appendix to the report merely listed 475 laws by name, in most cases without specifying what should be done about them.

"In terms of Japan's surpluses, deregulation basically means nothing," Yukio Noguchi, a leading economist and a professor at Hitotsu-hashi University, said. "This isn't the solution." And backpedaling was already apparent Monday on some sensitive issues. For instance, the commission suggested that Japan remove barriers to its rice market, a politically loaded issue. But Masayoshi Takemura, chief cabinet secretary, quickly announced that the goverament had no intention of altering its rice policy.

"As you can expect, the hard part is yet to come," Toyoo Gyohten, chairman of the Bank of Tokyo and a commission member, said in an

**Clinton's Lack of Interest Stymies His Foreign Policy Triumvirate** 

By Elaine Sciolino New York Times Service WASHINGTON - They are three troubled . men in search of a strategy: a cerebral former

doing well --- and even calls for sacrificial more important." resignations --- the three have begun to fight

In response to criticism that they are not to keep the secondary issues from becoming As part of the strategy, Mr. Lake has begun

When asked to list the strengths and weaknesses of the three-member team. David R. Gergen, the White House counselor who is in back. But in characteristic fashion, they said to shed his anonymity, allowing his aides to charge of communications, replied with anoth-last week that there was nothing fundamentally remake his image from that of reflective book- er question; "Do you really think I want to

should even discuss that sort of thing, those personnel things."

Praising them for their hard work and for "doing well on many hig things," he added that the United States would continue to make for eign policy "with the team we've got as long as we're all working together.'

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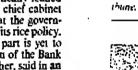
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A man and a careful lawyer cast in the roles of the "United States' top national security advisers." W. Anthony Lake, President Bill Clinton's national security adviser, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher are all struggling to improve for-eign policy performance and to build the president's reputation as a competent commander m chief despite the fallout from a disastrous raid in Somalia, the failure to restore democracy to Haiti and the war in Bosnia.

wrong with their approach. Their solutions are small steps rather than grand gestures, they

"Tell me of another administration that has gotten so much done on so many issues in its first 10 months,' Mr. Lake said. "The failure has been in explaining our policy adequately to the public.

With cool detachment, Mr. Christopher acknowledged that the administration must "operate in an error-free way on all issues in order

er ( worm to steely foreign policy Superman. Mr. Aspin has set up "tiger teams," disci-

plined task forces of specialists assigned to push through the Pentagon's bureaucratic thicket and neutralize the foreign policy snake pits of Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti.

Even the ever-cautious Mr. Christopher summoned up the courage to tell Mr. Clinton pointblank that he has to become more engaged in foreign policy by spending at least an hour a week with his national security advisers.

answer that?" and then launched into a highspirited defense,

All will keep their jobs, said Mr. Gergen, who is determined to play more of a role himself. According to other senior officials. Mr. Lake was the only one of the three to offer to resign if it would help the president, a suggestion Mr.

Clinton emphatically rejected. Asked Sunday on television about calls for Mr. Christopher and Mr. Aspin to resign, Mr. Clinton said, "I don't think that the president

There is one person who is likely to go -Deputy Secretary of State Clifton R. Wharton Jr. Mr. Christopher has had lengthy conversations, as recently as last weekend, with Mr. Wharton, about his stepping aside in favor of a seasoned foreign service veteran like Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who was both a secretary of

See POLICY, Page 8

The Advisory Group for Economic Restructuring, as it is known, was appointed this year by the new reform-minded prime minister as part of his campaign to tame the government bureaucracy, bring down prices and improve, the lives of Japanese consumers.

Many business people have argued that the measures, if enacted, would make it easier for entrepreneurs as well as belping multinational companies to compete in markets that are growing tougher all the time.

"In a certain sense, the report grew out of the fear that the Japanese economy cannot survive in the 21st century in its present form," Mr. Gyohten said

It also was hoped that the commission's recommendations would begin to trim Japan's trade surplus and thus remove a major source of friction between Japan and the United States. The goal is for the measures to expand demand and revitalize domestic markets. If that happened, Japan would import more, and Japa-nese companies would be able to grow by servicing their home market rather than needing to export. But for the most part, the report is aimed at

See JAPAN, Page 8

#### Kiosk

#### **Talks Shift to Cairo On Israel-PLO Pact**

CAIRO (NYT) - Israeli and Palestinian negotiators resumed talks at a secluded location here Monday. The negotiations are to continue here on Tuesday and could then return to Taba, the resort on the Red Sea, according to official sources. The negotiators, sensitive to media ex-

posure at a crucial time, quietly resumed efforts to deal with obstacles to carrying out the Israel-PLO agreement on Palestin-ian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

Egypt's foreign minister, Amr Moussa, and a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry confirmed that the delegates resumed talks in secret.

#### Related articles, Page 6

#### **Bueiness / Finance** A British company going public is trying to

whip up European interest in biotechnology issues. Page 11. **Special Report** Privatization in Europe is confronting the challenge of recession. Pages 16-18. Book Review Page 10. Page 10. Chess Dow Jones Trib Index Üp 0.19% Up 1 4.47

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**Champions of Eccentricity Put India in Record Book** 

By Edward A. Gargan

New York Times Service NEW DELHI - For 30 years, Romesh Sharma has raced toward glory, demolishing challengers, stupifying observers, troubling manicurists.

"In 1962, 1 started as a sort of hobby," offered Mr. Sharms, a man of formality and precise words. As he settled himself on a couch, he eased his left hand to the cushions, 196 combined inches of fingernail splaying from his fingers, like humanoid tentacles From 1964 onward 1 am in the papers,"

he continued, solemnly. "In 1973, I appeared in the Guinness Book with the longest nails." The Guinness Book of Records, a 700-page

volume chronicling the pinnacles of human achievement — the largest lollipop, the fast-est crocheter, the best beer keg lifter — is fast becoming India's holy grail, its barometer of social status, its own arena of international acclaim:

Although India's multitude of athletes left the Barcelona Olympics empty-handed last year, its champions of eccentricity and determination are battering down hurdles that defeat ordinary mortals. They are exploring new frontiers of imagination, conquering Evcrests of creativity. In Bombay, Anthony Parakal, 62, beams as

he displays the clippings of more than 3,700 letters to the editor he has managed to have published since 1954, a feat burying the re-cord held by an Englishman who chalked up a rather pairy 130.

a rather pairy 130. In Madras, the chief minister of Tamil Nadu, Jayalalitha Jayaram, is chugging to-ward renown for filing more than 200 defamation suits against newspapers, political op-

And here in India's capital, an "astropal-mist" is staking claim to the world record for palm reading, a hizzard of more than 300,000 palms over the years, 41 palms every day for 20 years.

While perhaps two dozen Indians have made their mark in the Guinness Book, no one has attacked the challenge of httering its

one has anacted the chancele of intering its pages as has Dipak Syal, a 22-year-old enthu-siast of ingennity and patience. Each year, he juggles and refines his vari-ous achievements, desperately struggling to retain his records. This year, alas, his chef d'ocuvre — writing on a grain of rice — was mexplicably missing from the volume, leaving him with but one mention in the sacred tome.

There it is, on page 292, prominently cited under the section Business World, "The tall-

See RECORDS, Page 8



Taiwan police escorting Wang Jihwa, second from left, away from the plane he had hijacked Monday during a flight from Hangzhou to Fuzhou, on the Taiwan Strait in China. The bomb he threatened the crew with turned out to be bars of soap wrapped with electrical wire.

### THE TRIB INDEX

### Latin American Stock Markets Go Global



have been included in a major index calculat-

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equity markets.

The International Herald Tribune has expanded its coverage of global financial mar-kets with the launch Tuesday of a Latin American component of the Trib Index. It is world Their inclusion in the Trib Index

The International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, compiled by Bloomberg Business News, now tracks the five leading Latin American trading centers - Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela. They form their own separate Latin American index, while representing five percent of the value of the Trib Index worldwide.

The addition of the Latin American shares recognizes the new importance of the markets and readers' interest in them around the the first time that Laim American markets makes the index an even better indicator of the health of the world's leading stock maring the overall performance of the world's kets and , indirectly, the international economy: Story and Trib Index on Page 11 . ÷

### **China-Taiwan Hijack Fever Vexes Beijing**

By Patrick E. Tyler New York Times Service BELITING — A series of hijackings of main-

land Chinese passenger jets to Taiwan contin-ued Monday when a man using bars of soap to simulate explosives diverted an airliner with 59 people on board to Taipei's international airport.

It was the second hijacking since Friday and the sixth this year. All involved Chinese citizens who said they were escaping their country for political reasons and seeking asylum on Tai-

In each case, Taiwan authorities immediately returned the aircraft and passengers, while holding the hijacker for trial

This plague of hijackings is undermining China's air safety drive, threatening its recently recovered tourism industry and reminding thousands of potential investors pouring into the country that some Chinese citizens find it so

thing to get out. The hijacker Monday was identified by Taiwan authorities as Wang Jihwa, 36, of Heilongjiang Province in northeastern China.

oppressive here that they would do almost any-

He boarded a Zhejiang Airlines flight from Hangzhou to Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian Province, which is located near the Taiwan

Mr. Wang sent the airliner's crew a note saying that he was carrying explosives wrapped in newspaper.

This package turned out to be a few bars of

said

Taiwan officials identified the hijacker of the Xiamen Airlines flight as Zhang Hai.

press agency. Beijing said the spate of hijack-ings underscored the urgent need for China and Taiwan to negotiate an agreement for the repa-triation of hijackers, who would most likely face the death penalty here. But for Taiwan, whose Republic of China

nationalist government still holds out as the legitimate government of all of China, the politics of sending refugees from Communist rule back to face the death penalty is unseemly. With a new round of discussions under way between Beijing and Taiwan on a number of repatriation issues, some analysis believe that

potential hijackers have been spurred to act out of fear that the negotiations will close this last exit route from Communist rule. In addition, international air carriers and

Chinese airports as an incentive to would be On Taiwan, convicted hijackers have drawn

prison sentences of 10 to 15 years.

aviation safety groups have cited lax security at hijackers.

On Friday a Boeing 737 with 140 people on board was hijacked after it took off from Guangzhou for Xiamen.

soap wrapped with electrical wires, the officials

In an editorial carried by the official Xinhua

Taiwan authorities said that after takeoff.

### Kohl Urges Closing of Stasi's 'Poison' Files

#### By Stephen Kinzer New York Times Service

Page 2

BERLIN - Files compiled by Stasi, the East German secret police, are beginning to spill embar-rassing tales about Western poliucians, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl is among those suggesting that the files be closed.

Speaking last week to a parliamenuary commission examining repression in East Germany. Mr. Kohl said the files wee "poisoning the whole atmosphere because no one knows how much of it is truth and how much is fantasy.

"If t could decide on my own, 1 know what I would do with them." he added. "We are not getting anything good out of them.

The parliament voted two years ago to open the Stasi files. The general public has no access to them, but victims of Stasi surveillance or persecution can find out who informed on them or sought to disrupt their lives. Government agencies may also check whether employees or applicants were connected to Stasi.

In addition, Joachim Gauck. who presides over the Stasi archives, periodically releases materi-ai on public figures.

Among them is Manfred Stolpe, premier of the Eastern state of Brandenhurg, whom Mr. Gauck has identified as a longtime Stasi informer. Mr. Stolpe says he had no idea that the Stasi had listed him as an informer: Mr. Gauck says no one was ever listed unwittingly,

Mr. Gauck's agency has recently confirmed the existence of thousands of hours of tape-recorded conversations among politicians. husiness leaders, hureaucrats and journalists. Transcripts of some conversations have been filtering out, as have other Stasi materials, in part because news organizations pay former agents for their recollections.

For example, a former Stasi officer involved in tapping telephones. who was identified only by a code name, wrote in a magazine article last month that he had heard Waldemar Schreckenberger, then Mr. Kohl's chief of staff, making a tearful call to tell a friend about what he believed was a shift in the chancellor's senuments in favor of an office rival.

"I can't sleep." Mr. Schrecken-berger was said to have solubed. "Kohl doesn't like me any more," In the same article, the former officer told of a secretary's intimacy with many officials in the Economics Ministry, and of an Interior Ministry aide who ran up heavy gambling debts. He gave no names. At last week's hearing, several

members of the parliamentary commission questioned Mr. Kohl suggesting that conciliatory West German policies had helped stabilize and prolong Communist rule in East Germany.

A German newspaper this month described a taped telephone call between Mr. Kohl and the East German leader. Erich Honecker, in which the chancellor supposedly reassured Mr. Honecker. "You're

As depicted in "The Nasty Girl," a schooloften without anesthetic and usually against girl's idle curiosity about the past became a the will of the mother.

STREET STREET STREET STREET STREET 175 I YANDE A WAREAUT

A woman strolling past remnants of the Berlin Wall near the Reichstag on Monday, four years after the wall was breached Nov. 9, 1989.

### German Muckraker Sets Off an Uproar

Washington Part Service BERLIN - Why can't Anna Rosmus leave well enough alone?

For more than a decade German hurghers have been asking that question of the short, plump teacher's daughter from Bavaria. They asked in 1980 when she wrote an indelicate school essay titled "Daily Life During the Third Reich

They asked when she relentlessly investigated the role played by her hometown of Passau during the Nazi era. That stormy quest eventually was portraved in The Nasty Girl," nominated for an Oscar in 1990.

They are asking now because Anna Rosmus is muckraking yet again. In "Winter-green: Suppressed Murders," published this fall in Germany, she levels charges against her fellow Bavarians that make the Third Reich misdeeds she revealed earlier seem like little more than harmless pranks.

Using documents culled from the U.S. National Archives and the U.S. Holocaust Memotial Museum in Washington, she wields history like an ax. Behind Passau's whitewashed facade she reveals a place where evil thrived, where hundreds of foreign children died in labor camps and orphanages, where forced abortions were commonplace, and where at least 1.700 prisoners of war were massacred in the closing days of World War

"For the first 20 years of my life, 1 didn't hear anything about this period of time from 1933 to 1945." she said during a recent inter-view in Berlin. "I couldn't imagine that there was any more connection between me and the Third Reich than there was between me and the ancient Egyptians.

and countless court battles. Miss Rosmus, now 33, gradually pieced together a tale of complicity and guilt: the respected priest who in fact had been a Hitler supporter, the prominent citizens who had been enthusiastic Nazis, the town that watched indifferently as local Jews were herded away and three concentration camps were huilt around it.

One of "Wintergreen's" most ghastly revelations concerns the slanghter of Soviet prisoners as U.S. troops were sweeping through lower Bavaria in late April 1945, Between 1.700 and 2.000 prisoners were released by SS captors but then hunted down by a local mob. "They were not just murdered," Miss Rosmus says. "They had to dig their own graves,

and then they were shot. In some cases their genitals were cut off, their eyes gouged out. their ears and tongues cut off." No war crime charges were ever filed in the

matter, Miss Rosmus says, but the American liberators forced Passau's hurghers to exhume the bodies and rehury them properly. They were ordered to plant flowers on the new graves after Bavarian custom,

"They complied, hut they picked wintergreen, a small, inconspicuous plant," Miss Rosmus says in explaining the title of her book, "It was the cheapest way to obey." There are other horrors. An estimated 500

infants born to East European laborers were allegedly taken from their mothers and left to die of neglect, malnutrition or deliberate exposure to disease. Another chapter recounts the story of Franz-Maria Clarenz, a Passau gynecologist. Miss Rosmus charges that during the final 15 months of the war, Dr. Clarenz performed more than 200 abortions on Polish, Russian and Ukrainian women, sometimes up to the eighth month of pregnancy.

Grisly stuff, and it sits badly in Passau. Mayor Dagmar Plenck has complained that Miss Rosmus's unending accusations were a "pure publicity stunt." The death threats against her, which began a decade ago, continue, including a recent anonymous vow to kill her ou Oct. 2 in Passau.

"Some of them," she observes, "are rather precise.

Dr. Clarenz died in 1965, but his widow and children sued Miss Rosmus under a German law that forbids defaming the dead, A local judge ruled that in a newspaper inter-view Miss Rosmus had made claims she could not prove regarding Dr. Clarenz's complicity; the judge threatened a fine or imprisnment if she repeated them.

But "Wintergreen" itself is thus far unrefuted. Controversy has not hurt sales. The first printing of 7,000 copies sold out in three weeks and the second printing of 5,000 is about half gone - respectable numbers for a book of regional history, according to Thom-35 Willauer, spokesman for Miss Rosmus's publisher, Lahhard Verlag.

There are even signs that Miss Rosmus may be wearing down the opposition with her gle-minded determination. Among generally laudatory reviews of "Wintergreen" was a measured, favorable article in her hometown newspaper, the Passauer Neue Presse, which had once treated Miss Rosmus with transparent disdain.

"We were astonished," Mr. Willaner said. Miss Rosmus sees the reconstructed past as a kind of morality play with direct implica-tions for present-day Europe.

"Ohviously, in Germany we have enor-mous xenophohia," she said. "It's not as anti-Semitic as it was 50 or 60 years ago. But it's hroader in some ways. It's not just Jews. It's Turks and others."

### Serbs Seize 2 Aides of Archbishop In UN Cars

By Chuck Sudetic

New York Times Serince BELGRADE - Serbian gun-men abducted two aides to Sarajevo's Roman Catholic archbishop from United Nations armored car

Monday, UN officials said. Advancing Bosnian Army units, meanwhile, shelled a Bosnian Croat-controlled munitions factory in the town of Vitez, the most formidable Croatian stronghold left in central Bosnia.

In Sarajevo, the first major evacuation convoy since May began Monday to carry Serbs — women, children and elderly men — to Belgrade. A total of 642 people are to be evacuated in stages. The armored cars were trans-

porting Archbishop Vinko Pulic, wo priests and three aides from Sarajevo when about 50 Serbian militiamen halted their convoy forced the party to leave their vehicles and abducted two of the aides officials said, adding that the Serbs said they were "war criminals."

The archbishop and what remained of his party returned to the Bosnian capital after armed UN vehicles were dispatched to the scene, the officials said.

The abductions marked the second incident in two days in which Bosnian Serbs have seized persons from UN convoys. They held hos-tage three Swedish members of the UN military force for several hours on Sunday.

UN troops in Sarajevo frequent-ly transport political leaders and dignitaries involved in peace negotiations and had reportedly been ordered not to open the doors of their vehicles to any combatants since the summer of 1992, when a Serb assassinated a high-ranking Bosnian official in a UN armored vehicle in Sarajevo.

The UN officials said the cochairman of the peace talks ou the former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg, was personally engaged in the effort to persuade the Serbs to release the archbishop's aides.

The archbishop and his aides were traveling to the town of Vares to try to restore order in what remains of its Roman Catholic population when the convoy was halted. Mr. Stoltenberg is slated to meet with Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, in Sarajevo on Tuesday to discuss resuming the stalled peace process, a UN spokesman said, Bosnian officials said the UN peace negotiators had not been in contact with the Sarajevo goverament in a month.

Croatian militiamen abandoned Vares last Wednesday, allowing the mostly Muslim Bosnian Army to take the steel town. The Croats made similar withdrawals from the

### WORLD BRIEFS

#### **Russians Help Georgia Retake West**

MOSCOW (AFP) --- With critical Russian support, government troops tightened control Monday over rebellious towns in western Georgia as President Eduard A. Shevardnadze vowed to retake the neighboring

secessionist republic of Abkhazia. Since the recapture Saturday of Zugdidi, the last stronghold of follow-ers of the deposed president, Zviad K. Gamsakhurdia, authorities execut-

ers of the deposed president, Zviad K. Gamsakhurdiz, anthorities execut-ed nine people in a crackdown on crime. Interfax press agency reported. Mr. Gamsakhurdia and about 1,000 of his supporters were in Abkhazia on Monday, and there were reports of divisions among their forces. Itar-Tass, quoting Russian military sources in Georgia, said sit pro-Gamsak-hurdia soldiers had heen executed by their superiors for refusing to fight alongside Muslim paramilitary troops from the mighboring republic of Chechenia.

#### UN Soldiers Said to Kill a Somali

MOGADISHU (Reariers) - United Nations soldiers killed a Somali aid worker and wounded mother in Mogadishu on Monday, witnesses said. The UN denied that its troops were responsible.

Earlier Monday, Turkish troops had its doops had to the gas and warning shots to disperse hundreds of Somalis outside the UN compound after the faction leader Mohammed Fairah Ainid warned of fresh violence. General Aidid had expressed anger about U.S. plans to send American troops back into the streets after an absence of several weeks.

Witnesses to the killing said Malaysina peacekeepers opened fire indiscriminately Monday into a crowd outside the offices of the international charity CARE, hitting the two local workers. The UN said the troops fired into the air.

#### Bomb at Rail Station Kills 7 in India

NEW DELHI (AP)-A powerful bomb exploded at a remote railroad station in northeastern India on Monday, inling at least seven people and wounded 41, United News of India suid:

No one claimed responsibility for the blast in Dimapur, in Nagaland state. Naga tribesmen have been waging a gnerrilla war for an indepen-dent homeland in parts of India and Burns.

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Nagaland is also the scene of a feud between the Nagas and Kuki tribes. About 300 civilians have been killed in the past year in the war between the two tribes.

#### **China Near Russian Defense Pact**

BELIING (Reuters) - The first Russian defense minister to visit China since the collapse of the Soviet Union arrived in Beijing on Monday for official talks that are expected to lead to a cooperation agreement. General Payel S. Grachev will hold talks with his Chinese counter

Chi Haotian, and will probably meet a more senior leader before he leaves on Thursday, they said.

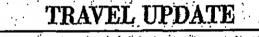
The visit is expected to colminate in the signing of a cooperation are when be were the two ministries of defense, something that has been in the works since President Boris N. Yeltsin visited China last December, Mr. Yeltsin made it clear then that arms sales would be an important component in the new relationship he was trying to build with China, one based on economic benefit and not ideology.

#### Hawaii Schools Lose High Court Bid

WASHINGTON (AP) - The Supreme Court refused Monday to let two religious schools in Hawaii hire only Protestants as teachers. The justices, without comment, rejected the schools' argument that they qualify for a federal job-bias law's exemption for some religious schools.

Also Monday, the court agreed to decide whether federal courts may help some prisoners whose rights may have been violated when they were moved from one penal system to another. In the case to be studied, an inmate says he was wrongly denied a speedy trial after being transferred

from federal custody to face criminal charges in Indiana. The Kamehameha schools in Honolulu are operated by a private trost created in 1884 by a member of Hawaii's former royal family, who stipulated that trustees and teachers be Protestants. The policy was challenged in 1989 by Carol Edgerton, a non-Protestant who sought employment as a substitute French teacher. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission sued on her behalf, contending that the rule violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act.



### France Dismantling D-Day Bridge

BENOUVILLE, France (Renters) - Workers on Monday began dismantling the historic Pegasus Bridge near Caen in Normandy where the first British troops landed in World War II at the start of the 1944 D-



talking to someone who doesn't want to put you in a difficult spot."

Mr. Kohl's comments about closing the files sparked many protests, especially from Stasi victims. An aide was later dispatched to tell reporters that Mr. Kohl had only been expressing his personal opin-ion and would not seek to repeal the law opening the files.

Thomas Rogalla, spokesman for the agency that has custody of the files said Mr. Kohl's comments contradicted the spirit of German

Chancellor Kohl gave his private opinion although he knows that in legal terms he should not do so." Mr. Rogalla said.

tion.

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WITH ANE /

"The people are greatly interested in seeing these files. We have received 670,000 applications from citizens, and we get another 10,000 every month. To call for an end to access to the files is completely unrealistic."

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Yeltsin Signs Draft Text of Constitution

Commiled by Our Staff From Dispetches MOSCOW - President Boris N. early presidential elections next Yeltsin on Monday signed the draft version of a new constitution de-June, altered the draft to limit the signed to help him consolidate autonomy of the country's 21 semiautonomous republics and 67 repower and prevent a possible hreak-up of the Russian Federagions.

He said last Thursday that the Anatoli Krasikov, head of Mr. independent-minded regional lead-Yeltsin's press service, said the Russian leader had signed the text ers, who used a struggle between the president and the old parliaafter introducing several amend-. ment to press for more autonomy. ments, hut declined to give further had bowed to his vision of Russia details. Russian journalists quoted as a single state. Sergei A. Filatov, Mr. Yeltsin's Mr. Yeltsin says opposition from

head of administration, as saying the old parliament and regional the changes were minor. separatism were the main reasons

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FAX (41 22) 732 45 58

The Russian leader, who has for economic crisis and the main changed his mind about holding factor stalling market reforms. The draft version will be submit-Soviet-era legislature that Mr. Yelt-

sin has dissolved.

out his term to 1996 because he had already won two powerful mandates from the Russian people. His supporters bold an early lead

in the race for next month's parliamentary elections, hut most Russians remain undecided or do not

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches STOCKHOLM --- Six works by

Picasso and two by Braque, with a total value of more than \$60 mil-

lion, were stolen from Stockholm's

Modern Museum overnight, its cu-

The curator, Bjorn Springfeldt, said the thief or thieves had pulled

off Sweden's largest art theft by climbing down through a hole

made in the roof, without setting

off security alarms, Sunday night

"Police and the security firm are

investigating how it could have happened," Mr. Springfeldt told Swedish radio. "We are stunned.

We don't know how the thieves

could have got past our systems."

rator said Monday.

or Monday morning.

plan to vote, according to an opinion poll.

**6** Picassos Stolen in Stockholm

search

Skeppsholmen Island, a small isle in downtown Stockholm. On Mon-

day the police blocked the only

hridge leading there. Helicopters

and boats were assigned to the

The five paintings and a sculp-ture by Picasso and two Braque

works all belonged to the museum's

The stoken Picassos were listed as "The Spring" (1921); "Dragonfly" (1929); "The Painter" (1930);

(1929); "The Painter" (1930); "Woman With Black Eyes," also known as "Dora Maar," and

"Woman With Blue Collar" (1941).

The 40-centimeter bronze "Woman" was sculpted in 1931.

permanent collection.

Election officials said Monday ted for approval in a referendum on that 21 parties had submitted lists Dec. 12, the same day as elections of 100,000 or more voter signatures to a new parliament to replace the to qualify for the Dec. 12 election. The signatures were being checked and parties that qualified to run

Mr. Krasikov said earlier that would be announced this week, Mr. Yeltsin had decided to serve The poll, on Russian televisiou Sunday night, said parties backing Mr. Yeltsin got the highest support, with 28 percent. Anti-government parties, including Communists and

conservative nationalist groups, got a comhined 9 percent, it said.

town of Travnik and other last summer.

The Bosnian Army attack on the Vitez arms factory came as its forces appear poised to continue an advance that has netted them control of most of central Bosnia's main towns in the last five months.

The two Bosnian Army shells that detonated inside the Vitez arms plant were the first direct hits on the factory and came as the Muslim infantry reportedly tight-ened its hold around the town:

The sprawling Vitez munitions plant is reportedly packed with ex-plosive materials, but the blasts did not trigger secondary explosions. In apparent retaliation for the Bosnian Army's push, Bosnian Croatian tanks Monday shelled the refugee-packed Muslim quarter of Mostar and other nearby Muslim areas, killing four and wounding

(Reuters, AP) eight, Sarajevo radio reported.

in Sweden."

ings on his wall."

alarm system.

We have had break-ins at this

museum before," Mr. Springfeldt

said, "but this is the largest art theft

He added: "All serious collectors

The stolen works, the most valu-

able in the state-owned museum,

were considered important for an

understanding of the development

of modern art, according to the

The intruders pierced a hole in the roof exactly above the Picasso-

and Braque works, apparently

without triggering the museum's

(Renters, AP)

know these works belong to our

museum, and I doubt if a private collector would want stolen paint-

Day landings in France. The steel lift bridge over the Orne river, captured early on June 6, 1944. by paratroopers of the 6th Airborne Division, is being demolished for a safety reasons and to allow bigger ships to enter the port of Caen, local

engineering officials said. War veterans said demolition should have been delayed until next June's celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the landings, due to be attended by Queen Elizabeth II, and President Bill Clinton. Gasoline prices in Nigeria skyrocketed 700 percent without warning Monday in a nation where even the threat of such increases has caused

major civil unrest. The price weat to the equivalent of 22 cents a liter, from 3 cents.

Bulgaria and Romania plan to start building one of two new bridges on their Danube River frontier next year. One of the bridges is to link Vidin in Bulgaria and Calafat in Romania and the other Beket in Romania and Oryahovo in Bulgaria. (Reuters) and the second

### **European 'Union' Brings** Community-Wide Muddle

The Associated Press

BRUSSELS — The Enropean Community, known for making the very simple very complicated, tried on Monday to streamline the names of its institutions, bringing European Union — and confusion - to the fore.

The move to highlight the term European Umon was made after the Maastricht treaty on closer political and monetary union took effect on Nov. 1. 1. 1. Jan 199

But it left many baffled.

Sir Leon Brittan, who started the day as the European Community's trade commissioner, appeared not to really know what he was

"Perhaps I ought to drop any title and just give my name and hope

that people will vaguely remember who I am," he said. Belgium, which holds the rotating EC presidency, said it wanted to introduce the term European Union for the sake of "effectiveness and clarity

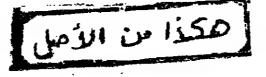
So, the foreign ministers of the dozen nations decided to call any meetings attended by thenselves or other ministers a "Council of the European Union."

Even so, the foreign ministers stressed that the European Union would have no "legal personality." As a result, treaties and international accords will be signed by the

European Community or individual members.

"Legally speaking, it is still the European Community," said Norbert Schwaiger, a spokesman.





Puerto Rico Nears Plebiscite on Status

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico - Should Puerto Rico peti-

After decades of dehate and months of intense cam-

paigning, voters are about to declare their preference in a plehiscite whose result the White House has pledged to

support. For the 3.7 million residents of this Caribbean

island, the vote Nov. 14 hinges on questions both of

cultural identity and material well-being. Governor Pedro Rossello and his New Progressive

Party say statehood will bring a financial bonanza. The opposition Popular Democratic Party argues that state-

bood will force a mixed-race, Spanish-speaking society to renounce everything that defines its character. Recent

polis show statehood and commonwealth running about

even, with about one-fifth of voters undecided. Indepen-

dence, the third opoon, is supported by about 5 percent of

the voters and is not considered a realistic course for an

tion to become the 51st state, remain an American com-

monwealth or proclaim its independence?

STATESIDE / THE PEROT 

Ross Perot greeting supporters after a speech attacking the North American Free Trade Agreement.

### **Perot Cites Threat on His Life**

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WASHINGTON - Ross Perot says that he has been targeted for assassination by a "Mafia-like" group working for adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Speaking to 3,000 people cheering his anti-NAFTA message at a rally Sunday in Tampa, Mr. Perot said the FBI had relayed information that the unidentified the hor has been been a second and the second secon dent Al Gore. ...

A federal law enforcement, source said that Mr. Perot's comments appeared to be based on third-hand information passed to the FBI by an anonymous. relephone tipster. The source added that the Justice Department was unaware of any threat against Mr.

Perot by any pro-NAFTA organization. Mr. Perot said a Tampa police officer had handed him a note Sonday morning from the FBI describing the plot. The assassination attempt "would take place. in Tampa or at the debate in Washington," he said. adding: "The organization is a Mafia-like group in favor of the North American Free Trade Agreement."

not worried about these dudes getting their acts together and doing something to me." Captain B.K. Winton of the Tampa police said that an FBI agent had said "two death threats" had been

made against Mr. Perot. The federal law enforcement official said the Los Angeles FBI office had received a call Saturday night from an Albuquerque, New Mexico, "tip line called

"We Tip"" about the alleged plot. An anonymous caller to the tip line reported that he was with a man who spoke no English and who claimed to have just gotten out of a Mexican prison where he had heard "there was a six-member Cuban hit squad that was going to 'take out' Ross Perot," according to the source.

Over the years, Mr. Perot, who received 19 percent of the vote in last year's presidential election, has claimed he was the target of death plots by North Vietnamese Communists upset about his efforts to free American prisoners of war, by the Black Panthers and by Texas drug dealers.

No evidence to support Mr. Perot's assertions ever surfaced, and they were vehemently denied by Republican campaign officials. Mr. Perot later acknowl-edged that some of his information came from a He has been pushing the mea-

sure for several years, and won a promise from the Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine, a firm opponent of the amendment, for a vote during this Senate session, which may end before Nov. 25, the Thanksgiving holiday.

By Adam Clymer

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - Conserva-

oves who hate raising taxes and

liberals who cannot stand to cut greatly diminish the nation's faith spending have joined to bring the m the Constitution enate to within a handful of votes The Simon amendment states of passing a constitutional amendthat outlays of federal money canment later this month to require a not exceed receipts in any fiscal year and that the statutory limit on the national debt cannot be in-

added "constitutional" to the list.

saying if the measure was adopted

it would probably fail to halance

the budget, and in so doing would

Senator Paul Simon, Democrat the nati of Illinois and a liberal who is the creased. measure's chief sponsor, is not predicting victory yet. But he said that he had detected a gradual increase in support.

The deficit issue has forced itself

over the years into the consciousness of both the right and the left, and it is good politics to promise to do something about it. Multi-lingual staff. Minutes to Business Center, Sightseeing.

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ton denounced the amendment as a 21st Sr. and Lexington Ave. NYC Member of Utell International

"budget gimmick," and said it was so vague that appointed judges would end up making decisions elected lawmakers should take on-Mr. Clinton said the amendment would burt average American families and require some combination of "huge increases in taxes," "massive reductions in Social Security benefits" and "major cuts in Medi

care and Medicaid that would make it impossible to pass mean-ingful health reform legislation." He said the last effect would be

### POLITICAL NOTES

Island that has lived under American rule since the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898.

The vote is the first on Puerto Rico's status since 1967. when commonwealth status won 60 percent of the vote. The plebiscite is nonbinding, meaning that even if state-hood wins. Congress would still have to approve the formal petition to join the union. (NYT)

#### Mrs. Clinton Backs the Family Doctor

WASHINGTON - Hillary Rodham Clinton came to the defense of the family doctor, telling a young medical student "it's about time we start thinking about the common good" and not just career choices that may be more lucrative.

Mrs. Cliaton's remarks came during questions from the audience Sunday 21 2 conference of medical educators where several medical students said they saw no advantage to going into general practice where pay and prestige is lower than in specialization.

Mrs. Clinton's reply came with a sharp edge. "It's about time that we start thinking about the common good, the national interest, instead of just individuals in our country," she told one student.

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Seventy percent of the practicing physicians are in specialties, compared with 30 percent for general practice, and 85 percent of the medical students are aiming at specialties, compared with 15 percent for general practice. she said.

#### Quote/Unquote

Ross Perot, at a rally in Florida at which he said he had received information about an assassination plot because of his stand against NAFTA: "I thought about the people who make our country go. We will never waver until NAFTA is stopped. So here we are, And if something should happen. don't spend a minute mourning. As Step 1 make sure you stop NAFTA, with or without me." (NYT)

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### Nuclear arms in Korea and China



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to hoth raise taxes and cut spending, each wing of this tenuous alliance argues that only the approach the other side dislikes need be used. Group Rates Available But the opponents, led by Sena-tor Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, got a boost last week

weighed in on their side. Mr. Clin-

Park Hotel

when President Bill Clinton GRAMERCY PARK HOTEL





"I an willing to stand up here like a clay pigcon, if former California police officer described by federal you will write your congressman," Mr. Perot said at law enforcement sources as a publicity-seeking the rally. "Let him know you don't want NAFTA. Pm hoaxster.

### TREATY: For the Left, an Uneasy, Broad Reversal

Continued from Page 1. it easier for U.S. companies to es-cape domestic law and regulation, a process already taking place as the marketplace has become global.

"Activists endured George Bush and Ronald Reagan for 12 years; they worked hard to elect Clinton to change policy," said a former Democratic congressman. James Jontz, now head of the Citizens Trade Campaign, a group that op-

Trade Campaign, a group that op-poses the agreement. "To people at home, NAFTA is more of the same, trickle-down economics, putting corporations ahead of people. NAFTA embod-ies what people have been fighting against. Clinton says this is a new policy. People at home see Clinton inted up with the business lobby-iets. They are med. They are sayists. They are mad. They are say-ing: This is why we elected Bill Clinton?"

The scope of the opposition is reflected by the strong presence of groups as diverse as the boards of the United Methodist Church, Americans for Democratic Action. the National Farmers Union, the Humane Society, Greenpeace and

the United Auto Workers. And the range of concern for protection of domestically enforced rights and regulations is reflected in a point made by the Rev-

erend Jesse L. Jackson, the civil- would "give American labor unions with Mexico and Canada will make rights activist and prospective a 'death grip' on labor policies." it easier for U.S. companies to espective a 'death grip' on labor policies." cape domestic law and regulation, a mative action policy. You cannot discontent lies in a shared susp process already taking place as the enforce that on a plant in Canada cion of, and often hostility toward or Mexico."

While Ross Perot, the billionaire husinessman and independent presidential candidate last year, as assumed the public role of anti-NAFTA leader, these organiza-tions have produced many more votes against the agreement. The leaders view Mr. Perot a dangerous CT'S. ally without commitment to their

tenets. The debate will be broadcast on CNN at 0200 GMT on Wednesday. The uncase that many on the left feel about their alliance with Mr. are taking jobs to them." Perot becomes severe disconfort in the case of such leaders of the Re-publican right as Patrick J. Bu-chanan and Paul M. Weyrich.

For the progressive and liberal groups opposed to the agreement, the alliance with Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Weyrich, head of the Free Congress Foundation, has another there are a variety of values - be major cost: It turns arguments against it into an intellectual mud-The agreement, according to Mr.

Weyrich, will "give the radical covironmentalists a devastating tool" permitting them "to lock into place outrageous 'green' laws," and it

particularly counterproductive be-cause health legislation was "the nation's best hope of bringing down the long-term deficit." While presidents have no veto on The central anchor of liberal-left constitutional amendments, Mr. discontent lies in a shared suspi-Clinton's intervention still matters, cion of, and often hostility toward, especially because 16 of the 20 sendomestic and multinational corpoators who have not announced rations that opponents of the their position on the measure are Democrats. With 60 supporters agreement believe are profiting in the global marketplace amid de-clining wages for unskilled work-

identified through public state-ments and interviews and 20 declared opponents, the backers need "Mexican workers are not taking only 7 of the undeclared senators to our jobs; to say so is racist," said Mr. Jackson, head of the National get the required two-thirds majority of the 100-member Senate. Op-ponents need 14 of them to defeat Rainbow Coalition and the most prominent leader of the liberal

wing of the Democratic Party. The Senate is expected to vote in "Corporations with gleams for about two weeks on the measure, greed and fast profits in their eyes which would require a balanced which would require a balanced budget in 1999. The result is likely But the opposition on the left has to be as close as it was in 1986, when the proposal fell short by a far broader ideological composisingle vote; or in 1982 when it The political world view is that passed the Senate with 69 votes hut

died in the House. Mr. Byrd said he was worried Mr. Byrd said he was worried they environmental, consumer, bealth and safety, equitable distri-bution of income — that these groups believe should come before that his side would lose. He scoffed at the measure as "political catnip" and said he despairs of senators business interests per se," said Lori Wallach, lobbyist for Ralph Na-der's Public Citizen and a key orgawho beg him, in his role as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, for money for their states while supporting an amendment that would dry up that spending. nizer of the opposition. "There are times when these interests should trump the goal of expanded trade, the goal of expanded basiness prof-it or growth." He called the amendment "an economic, fiscal and political ca-lamity in the making." He then

### More violence in occupied territories

### The coming winter in Bosnia

**December elections in Russia** 

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#### **Away From Politics**

• Dr. Jack Kevorkian left jail in Detroit after a backer posted a \$2,000 bond set by a judge in an assisted suicide case. Dr. Kevorkian, an outspoken proponent of assisted suicide, was jailed Friday after he refused to post the bond himself. He had refused nourishment except for juice and water all weekend.

• Jury selection began in the trial of a man whose wife cut off his penis, allegedly he had raped her. John Bobbitt, 26, has been charged in Manassas, Virginia, with manital sexual assault in a case that has captured widespread attention. His estranged wife, Lorena, faces trial later in the month for malicious wounding. Each faces 20 years III Drison.

· Federal acents made an arrest in an arson investigation of wildfires that have ravaged Southern California over the past two weeks, officials said. The last major fire has now been contained.

• Thirty-one illegal Chinese aliens being departed from Mettico caused a ruckus on an airline flight, prompting an emergency, landing on U.S. soil, after being told that they would not be served liquor on the flight. They were returned to Mexico.

• Gay rights activists are calling for a boycott of Cincinnati following a vote repeating a year-old law protecting homosexuals from discrimination.

• David Berkowitz, the notorious "Son of Sem" serial killer who terrorized New York in the mid-1970s, has apologized from prison for his deadly deeds. "I did take some lives and I'm very sory for that," he said in an interview. He said his goal had been to bring New" York "to its knees." AFP. AP. Reuters, WP

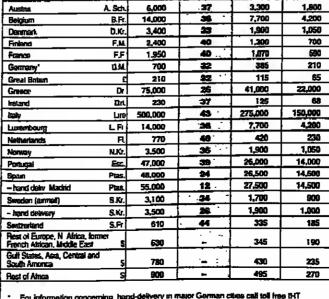
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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1993

#### PINIO N A

Herald Tribune

### Change the Cuba Policy

Washington's Cuba policy is domestic politics by proxy. So fierce are the anti-Castro passions of well-beeled, conservative Cuban exiles that reason flies out the window when candidates vie for their votes and contributions. That helps explain why Congress last year added new teeth to an existing trade embargo by barring U.S. subsidiaries in other countries from doing business with Cuba.

Page 4

The Bush administration at first questioned the prudence and legality of that step, but flipped around when Bill Clinton, while barnstorming in Florida, accused the administration of missing "2 big opportunity to put the hammer down on Fidel Castro and Cuba."

Some hammer. The Cuban Democracy Act, passed with a bipartisan whoop and meant to isolate the Castro regime, has embarrassingly isolated the United States. The UN General Assembly has overwhelmingly sided with Cuba in condemning the embargo. The vote was 88 to 4 (Albania, Israel, Paraguay and the United States), with 57 abstentions. It is hard to recall a comparable bumiliation for U.S. diplomacy.

The case was not belped by the muddled defense put forward by Victor Marrero, the alternate U.S. delegate: "We maintain our comprehensive economie embargo against Cuba to maintain the pressure on the regime to restore freedom and democracy. If we were to alter our policy now, what then?" But that wonderfully misses the point, which is whether Washington bas a right to coerce nationals of other countries to enforce that embargo. On that matter, America stands nearly alone. Canada has issued an order to block

compliance with the extraterritorial claims of the Cuban Democracy Act, and has protested provision barring any vessel that enters Cuba from unloading freight in U.S. ports for 180 days after leaving Cuba. Along with other countries, Britain bas made it an offense for any person to comply with extraterritorial provisions of the law. This was foreseen by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which opposed the widened embargo as "unworkable.

Going deeper, the chamber advised Con-gress last year that the Cuban Democracy Act relies on the demonstrably flawed premise that unilateral U.S. sanctions will throw a foreign economy into turmoil and hasten a return to democracy." Indeed, with the Castro regime on the ropes and the Cold War over. Cuba no longer poses a strategic threat. Punishing an entire people unilaterally with a big stick recalls the demeaning years when the island was viewed as a U.S. protectorate.

A plausible, different approach is set forth in "Cuba in Transition," a Twentieth Century Fund study by Gillian Gunn, director of the Georgetown University Cuba Project. She argues for a relaxation of travel bans and the trade embargo as first steps, to be followed by direct negotiations on compensating U.S. companies whose assets were seized after the revolution, releasing prisoners and bolding local and national elections. It is obvious that the clock is ticking against Mr. Castro and his ossified brand of communism. Diplomacy is a better instrument than a hammer to help Cubans prepare for the inevitable.

- THE NEW YORK TIMES.

### A Faulty Budget-Balancer

President Bill Clinton took a position Friday on the misnamed balanced budget amendment to the constitution, on which Congress is scheduled to vote in the next few weeks. He is opposed, as he ought to be; be laid out the principal reasons in a compelling letter to The House speaker, Thomas Foley. But there was no announcement of this; the letter was sent late Friday, when administrations generally take actions they hope will not be noticed. Officials say that was not the intent, and that the administration plans to campaign vigorous-ty against this insidious proposal. We hope so.

This amendment would not require, and most of the time would likely not produce, a balanced budget. It would simply require a three-fifths rather than majority vote of both houses to pass an unbalanced one. The balance it would mostly affect is the balance of power. It would probably add to the price that a president - any president - would have to pay each year to get a budget passed. Every year Congress searches for the perfect vote on the budget, the one that will let it stand foursquare for frugality without having to say at whose expense the frugality is to be achieved. The amendment has the added virtue of putting off the frugality until later; it will be the responsibility of another Congress to achieve. The president rightly observed that "the amendment by itself would not reduce the deficit by a single penny." But unlike some earlier gimmicks, this one would tamper with

thereby add to the prospect each year of gridlock. The president warned that by increasing "accounting subterfuge ... moving more fed-eral programs off budget or ... imposing more unfunded mandates on the states," it might end up producing less fiscal responsibility rather than more. It would be "bad economics." he said, in that it would complicate the government's countercyclical role, wherein the deficit automatically widens when the economy turns weak: it "risks turning minor downturns into serious recessions" and "would make recovery from recession far more difficult."

The amendment could do programmatic harm as well. The goal of some supporters is not so much to balance the budget as to shrink the size and role of government. The president spoke up for reducing the "investment defi-cit" as well as the budget deficit. He said the amendment could "make it impossible to pass meaningful bealth reform legislation." Other likely effects could include increased pressure on defense and a greater burden on precisely the states that would have to ratify the amendment: that is because federal aid to state and local government would likely be cut.

This amendment. far from facing up to such choices, closes its eyes to them. It is a means of deterring precisely the discipline that it protends to impose: in the name of strengthening the government, it would bobble and weaken it. It abuses the consultution by using it as a political shield. Mr. Clinton, whose budget this year was itself a good first step toward

NOBODY ASKED ME IF WE SHOULD BE IN SOMALIA OR NOT. NOBODY ASKED ME WHAT KINDA HEALTH PLAN I WANTED. NOBODY ASKED ME IF WE SHOULD RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING, AND NOBODY ASKED ME WHAT I THOUGHT ABOUT DON' ASK ME NAFTA .: WHY IS THAT? SENOR 60 Ś NE DON' NEED FENKIN NAFTA O,

### **America's Relations With China Are Looking Up**

**B** ELITNG — In recent weeks the Clinton admin-istration has swerved away from an impending crisis in American relations with China by adopting a new policy of engagement. The abrupt change in direction has been eagerly received by Chinese officials, who are keenly awaiting the next step - the meeting between Presidents Bill Clinton and Jiang

Zemin scheduled for Seattle on Nov. 19. Washington's sudden shift. if confirmed and carried forward by the Clinton-Jiang meeting, could avert a disaster for the United States in Asia

While Washington dithered over its Beijing policy in the years after the Tiananmen crackdown, the big story in this part of the world has been the rapid economic and social development of the world's most populous country as it returns to a leadership position in East Asia. Compared to the stakes for the United States here, those in Bosnia. Somalia or Haiti are small potatoes.

During his campaign for the oresidency. Mr. Clinton repeatedly criticized George Bush for "coddling China" and declared that America should do what it could to encourage the collapse of its Communist regime. But after a policy review in September, he said in a personal letter to Mr. Jiang, whose most important post is that of general secretary of the Communist Party, that the United States was committed to the advancement of a "strong, stable and prosperous China."

In a conference room of the Ministry of Defense here on Nov, 1, these words of reassurance were repeated by Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles Freeman as he resumed high-level U.S. military ties. The words have been taken by Beijing's leaders as the basis for present and future Chinese-American relations, even though Mr. Clinton has not yet repeated them publicly.

By Don Oberdorfer This is the first of two articles.

According to the historian Zi Zhongyun, similar things were said by U.S. officials in 1941 at the start of the Chinese-American alliance of World War II, but forgotten after the 1949 Communist revolution. The statements were revived in the Nixon administration's China breakthrough but dropped again after the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown.

Mr. Jiang has recently repeated a policy prescrip-tion about relations with America that is widely believed to have originated late last year with Deng Xiaoping, the senior leader. In the form of an epigrammatic statement in 16 ideograms, it has been translated by official media as "Increase trust, reduce troubles, develop cooperation and avoid con-frontation." Such 16-character statements were used by Mao Zedong and are sometimes employed as capsule exhortations for important policies.

For America's allies in Asia, who have been deeply concerned by the downward spiral of U.S.-Chinese relations in recent months, the Clinton reversal comes none too soon.

A senior Japanese Foreign Ministry official told American counterparts in bilateral talks two months ago that in order to ensure stability in Asia "U.S. Japan relations should be excellent, Japan-China relations should be good and U.S. China relations should be reasonably good." At that time the third part of the triangle appeared to be headed toward collapse, and Tokyo let Washington know that it was worried.

A senior South Korean diplomat observed recently in Seoul that Washington and Beijing re-minded him of a married couple falling out be-

**Only NATO Membership Will Soothe Their Fears** 

cause of minor incidents that both partners had fastened on as crucial tests of their relationship. Good relations between the United States and China, the diplomat said, are of vital importance to the future of the bitterly divided Korean Peninsula, because China is a great power next door and one of the few nations with substantial infin-

ence on North Korea. Mr. Clinton's initial policy toward China emerged from the intense American reaction to the brutal suppression of pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the antipa-thy of congressional Democrats to Mr. Bush's thy of congressional Democrats to Mr. Bush s policy of restrained economic and political pres-sures on the Communist regime. Once in office, Mr. Clinton began searching for Chinese conces-sions to permit him to claim that a tough policy toward the People's Republic was paying off. In March he sent Beijing a list of 14 issues of

concern to him, ranging from buman rights to nonproliferation to economic disputes, where Chi-uese actions would be helpful as he considered whether to extend most-favored-nation trade benefits for China. Beijing's leaders were infuri-ated, considering this to be a "coercive ultimatum," and fired back a list of seven demands of their own for changes in U.S. policy.

Details of that exchange have not been made public, but officials who are familiar with it said it was a dangerons moment in both capitals.

The writer, who often reported from or on Asia in 25 years as a Washington Post correspondent, retired last spring and became journalist in residence at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He contributed this com-ment to The Washington Past.

Discovering A Different Pyongyang

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#### **By James Pringle**

P YONGYANG, North Korea -Taxis are lined up outside the Hotel Koryo in Pyongyang A visitor walks out of the hotel, climbs mio one of the vehicles and tells the driver in head for a restaurant or a departmean store. The driver does as asked. ment store. The driver does as asked. Those responsive taxis are a sign of the beginning of a may but percepti-ble glimmer of greater openness in the Hermit Kingdom of "Great Leader" Kim II Sung and his son and heir, "Dear Leader" Kim Jong II. When I lived in Beijing in the 1920: there has a birth diary to read of the 1970s, there was always a row of taxis

were Public Security Bureau spy cars. When I first saw the Hotel Koryo taxis the other day, I though that they were the same, or possibly Po-temkin vehicles, just for show. But West European businessmen, who say the taxis appeared a few months ago, use them all the time.

Returning for a first visit since the 1980s, a visitor sees other signs of a minor relaxation. On the previous trip, even though I had been invited by Prince (now King) Norodom Siha-nouk of Cambodia for an interview at his palace outside the capital. I way treated virtually as a spy. I was not permitted to walk outside the hotel on my own, and was driven everywhere with an omnipresent "guide" who banned most of my picture-taking. Two years: ago, a colleague who weat to the nailway station 300 me-

ters from the Hotel Koryo was detained, then brusquely escorted back. This time I poked around the station. then got on a train and trundled across town. I asked directions of ordinary citizens using a Korean phrase book. When I took pictures of anything I wanted, all the "guide" said was. "I see

photography is your hobby," Other hints of a slight loosening and greater realism: the appearance of previously banned bicycles on the streets; two Christian churches open for worship, although under state supervision; admissions by officials of shortages of meat and gasoline. And interest in foreign investment, trade and mutual recognition.

Some North Koreans are still reinctant to be seen standing too close to foreigners. Others are ready to chat about simple things, such as their families.

Foreign reports of starvation and food nots seem exaggerated. As international concern grows over Pyong-yang's refusal to allow outside inspec-tion of its nuclear facilities, fueling suspicions that it may be building a nuclear weapon, this is, on the face of it, a country unprepared for war.

Industry is moriband. Driving 200 kilometers south on Unification Highway to Pannunjon, one sees vir-nually no traffic. Despite reports by American defense officials of a big military buildup north of the Demili-

for more than few minutes.

A regional defense analyst had

warned me that I would not see the

rea's 1.1-million-man army should not

be underestimated. I can only report

that everything remotely military had

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HELSINKI - NATO has yet to find a way to reassure the Central and East European nations without alienating Russia. The "security partnership" expected to be offered

#### By Max Jakobson

temporarily gain the upper hand: Russian security-policy establishment chauvinistic, Great Russian, crypto-Communist and crypto-totalitarian disavowed him. At the end of Septem-ber he had to retract his Warsaw state-

law and likely do great harm to precisely the future ability to make the disciplined choices that its sponsors say it would enhance. It would enshrine minority rule, and

deficit reduction. is right to oppose it. Congress should vote it down. - THE WASHINGTON POST.

### **Curbing Greenhouse Gas**

Bill Clinton's new plan to control global warming looks a lot more like something George Bush would dream up than anything straight from the heart of Al Gore. the environmental conscience of the administration. It relies heavily on voluntary actions, goes light on regulatory actions and remains silent on the enormously difficult problem of what to do to head off a big increase in greenhouse gas emissions after the turn of the century. Even so, the plan is a reasonable response to a distant crisis whose dimensions are uncertain. This is not an issue on which the president should spend much political or economic capital just yet.

There is wide agreement that an accumulation of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide, will make the world warmer than it would otherwise be. But there is little agreement about the magnitude of the warming and what damage it would cause. And that, in turn, makes it difficult to know how much money and effort to expend now to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

President Busb treated global warming as a secondary issue requiring no strong governmental response. He strongly opposed setting firm targets or timetables for reducing emissions, and almost single-handedly blocked the setting of mandatory limits in the global climate treaty signed in Rio de Janeiro last year. The Bush program relied mainly on voluntary actions by industry, most of which were already under way. These efforts, the Bush administration calculated, would bring the United States within hailing distance of 1990 emission levels by the year 2000, but would not quite reach that goal. Thereafter, the emissions would soar upward again.

President Clinton has now greatly toughened the rhetoric while only moderately toughening the policies. He has called global

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warming "perhaps the biggest environmental threat to this planet," suggesting that he views the problem more seriously than Mr. Bush did. And be bas pledged to bring emission levels in the year 2000 down to 1990 levels, thus imposing a mandate on himself that Mr. Bush declined to impose on the country.

But Mr. Clinton stopped short of proposing the corrective measures recommended by Vice President Gore in his book "Earth in the Balance," namely tougher mileage requirements for all cars and trucks sold in the United States and a carbon tax to discourage emissions. He, too. will rely heavily on voluntary actions by industry and individuals. Those would be backed up by new regulatory standards in a few areas, including residential appliances, electric transformers and landfill emissions.

The Clinton program has drawn criticism from disappointed environmental groups. But it is a reasonable response, given the uncertain nature of the peril and the strong political opposition to new taxes and tougher mileage standards. Unlike Mr. Bush, Mr. Clinton is putting his own credibility behind the emis sions-control effort. He has called for \$1.9 billion in government spending, mostly redirected funds, by the year 2000. And his effort to enlist the aid of industry appears far more vigorous than Mr. Bush's.

Administration experts calculate that the program is strong enough to reach the goal for the year 2000. A White House team will monitor progress and ratchet up the effort if necessary. Mr. Clinton still has to tell Americans bow to cope with vehicular emissions and a sharp rise in overall emissions after the turn of the century. But for now be has made a sensible start on an emerging problem that bears close watching.

- THE NEW YORK TIMES.



by NATO to all European states. including Russia, Ukraine and possibly other former Soviet republics. Is intended to go at least balfway toward satisfying the craving for security in what President Lech Walesa of Poland has called "the power vacuum at the heart of Europe." But in the eyes of those to whom it is offered. the cup looks half empty.

Central and East European anxieucs have been sharpened by the sbock waves emanating from the Balkans. This is not because of any fear that the conflict in former Yugoslavia might be reproduced elsewhere in Europe, but because it has revealed the limits of the West's will to intervene. That is why the Central and East European states now are striving to be admitted to the institutions that the West is committed to defend. They desperately want to belong.

The problem is, of course, the uncertainty about the future of Russia. The leaders of the Central and East European nations must take into account the possibility, as President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic has put it, "that in Russia, forces still enamored of the imperial ambiuons of the former Soviet Union would

forces' *(IHT, Oct. 20)*. Membership in the European Community is the first choice for the Czech Republic. Hungary, Poland,

Slovakia and possibly others. But since it will take years for any of the Central or East European countries to reach a level of economic develop-ment that will enable them to join the Community, NATO membership ap-pears to offer a short cut into the Western fold. The leaders of the four countries have been encouraged to believe that this is possible.

The German defense minister. Volker Ruhe, last spring advocated an enlargement of NATO. Leeb Walesa says that Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany has promised him that Poland could be admitted.

The way seemed to be clear after President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Warsaw in August. A joint declaration signed at the end of the visit said that "in the long term, such a decision [to join NATO] taken by a sovereign Poland in the interests of overall European integration does not go against the interests of other states, including the interests of Russia." But it soon became obvious that

Mr. Yeltsin had gone too far. The

nent. In a letter to the leaders of the United States, France, Britain and Germany he argued that former members of the Warsaw Pact should become members of NATO only if Russia also was included. He proposed that Russia and the West should jointly guarantee the security of the countries lying between them.

In the face of Russian opposition, NATO retreated. It is no longer considering any expansion. The argument is that Russia must not be isolated, because this would strengthen the kind of extremist forces that Mr. Ha-

and East European countries would intensify the sense of insecurity among those nations that are left out. The Baltic states, in particular, would feel abandoned. They have not forgotten the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939. Why was all this not figured out before hopes of NATO membership were raised? Now those nations which had expected membership feel let down, while the others resent being relegated to second-class status.

A "security partnership" seems an

vel describes above. But there is another valid argument here: To admit some of the Central

innocuous concept. That is precisely

Ugly, Unfounded and Hard to Explain

"I think" the conversation took

September 1981.

 $B^{\rm OSTON-If}_{\rm low the policies of bate and$ revenge can get in Washington, lis-

ten to this story. Janet Napolitano, a leading Arizona lawyer, has been nominated by President Bill Clinton as U.S. place before she left Washington in The quoted transcript has her saying "Yes, if my memory is —" Mr. Brock then writes: "At that attorney for that state. She is a Democrat but bas supported both parties. She once worked for Senator Pete Domenici, Republican of New Mexico, and he is for her. Ms. Napolitano's nomination was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. But a floor vote is being blocked by right-wing Re-publicans because she was one of the lawyers for Anita Hill in the hearings in which she confromed

Justice Clarence Thomas. The attack is led by a journalist wbo wrote a book attacking Profes-sor Hill, David Brock. The American Spectator, which printed Mr. Brock's first smear of Professor Hill as "a bit nutty and a bit slutry," printed a Brock article on Ms. Napolitano lasi month.

The new article centers on the same claim that was a principal basis of his attack on Professor Hill. This is that Judge Susan Hoerchner, a friend who testified that Professor Hill had told her of Clarence Thomas's sexual advances, first said the conversation occurred at a time before Ms. Hill worked for him --- and then, warned by a lawyer, said she could not remember when it was. The lawyer was Ms. Napolitano.

Mr. Brock prints what he save is the relevant part of an interview of Judge Hoerchner by Senate Judi-

members of the Judiciary Commit-By Anthony Lewis tee that the charges were empty. But she would not answer questions about what she and Judge ciary staff members. In it she save

Hoerchner discussed during that break, because it was a conversation protected by the lawyer-client privilege. Now right-wing Republi-cans are demanding that she violate legal ethics and disclose it.

The present and four most recent past presidents of the Arizona Bar, point. Napolitano interrupted," asking to speak with the witness. After their brief off-the-record talk, past presidents of the Attoma par, in a letter supporting Ms. Napoli-tano as a "person of impeccable in-tegrity," said they were "dismayed" at the demand. They wrote: "This is an attack on Ms. Napolitano for he says, Judge Hoerchner changed her story and said she could not remember the date. The Brock charge falls away on examination. It is in fact based on abiding by the law and by our state's ethics. A lawyer violating those canmisrepresentations. 1. The interview transcript did oas can lose his or her license to not end where Mr. Brock says "Na-politano interrupted." A staff mem-ber interrupted and said he wanted practice law in our state. It is disgraceful when a lawyer is attacked for doing her professional duty."

In attacking Ms. Napolitano, David Brock has abandoned the to be sure everyone could ask questions. Only after several staff com-nients, with no question pending, pretense that he is an impartial indid Ms. Napolitano say she would vestigative reporter. He is a hatchet like to talk with Judge Hoerchner. 2. When Judge Hoerchner said man of the far-out right, trying to rescue the shattered credibility of later that she could not remember the date of the conversation, that his Hill book. Senators can delay action on Ja-

net Napolitano because of the cur-rent perversion of Senate rules, unwas not new. Five times before the break in testimony she had said she der which one or two members can could not remember or could only block a nomination by threatening a guess at the date --- which was hardly surprising for a telephone con-versation 10 years earlier. On the basis of the Brock attack. filibuster. Thanksgiving and the end of the session are near. But it is not clear why senators would want to bring the Thomas-Hill conflict back Republican Senators Alan Simpson to public attention. Do they really and Strom Thurmond sent 91 written questions to Ms. Napolitano, want to reopen the question of Clarsome implying illegal conduct on her part. Her answers satisfied most ence Thomas's truthfulness?

The New York Times.

nately, the CSCE has lost credibility as tarized Zone, army vehicles are few. a result of its hasty decision to admit Soldiers try to hitch rides. At Wonsan on the east coast, the

why it fails to address the worries of

the Central and East European coun-

tries. It looks like another Conference

on Security and Cooperation in Eu-

rope, this time in uniform. Unfortu-

all the former Soviet republics. Now the CSCE stands by helplessly captured American "spy" ship Pueblo is still berthed at the quay, next to while several of its member states are the smart Japanese-built vessel which torn apart. Russia will not permit a CSCE intervention in the area it calls each week ferries goods and reputedly dollars from pro-Pyongyang Kore-ans in Japan. The road south along "hear-abroad." Whatever peacekeeping needs to be done there will be the coast passes beachside wire fences. In places there is a strip of raked-over carried out by Russian troops. But where does "near-abroad"

sand that might contain mines but would not halt a well-equipped for end? Does it cover only the Commonwealth of Independent States (which has just been forcibly expanded to include Georgia)? Or is its outer limit like the horizon that recedes even further as we approach it? real military preparations. He cau-tioned that the strength of North Ko-

The fear in Central and Eastern Europe is that, having brought the CIS under its control, Russia will go on toreassert political influence over its western neighbors, on the grounds that "legitimate security interests" entitle it to ensure that these countries are run by "friendly" governments:

a ramshackle appearance. There was also no perceptible sense of tension. So what do North Korea and its 81-year-old leader want? To this correspondent, it appears that the elder Kim is playing high-stakes poker for This Russian version of the Monroe Doctrine was never seriously challenged by the West in the past. American recognition. As both China and Russia, the North's erstwhile close allies, have established diplo-Would it be challenged in the future, if claimed by a Russian government that poses no direct threat to the matic links with Scoul, such a recip-West? Will the Western policy of sup-porting Mr. Yeltsin as the best availrocal move would help ease Pyongyang's dangerous sense of isolation. able leader to guide Russia toward democracy and a market economy It would be better if rapid progress,

could be made in this direction while the elder Kim, who seems proud of his high-rise capital and its recent tenuous social relaxation, is still alive. Kim Jong II, as he amply demonstrated by sponsoring terrorism in the 1970s and '80s, is unsure what his position may be in the North Korean hierarchy when his father is no longer there. He is likely to be a much less stable figure to deal with.

The writer, n Bangkok-based cor respondent of The Times in London, contributed this comment to the Inter-national Herald Tribune...

#### IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

#### 1893: Anarchist Bombs

pave the way back to Yalta?

Such questions may reflect an un-

duly pessimistic view of the future of

Russia under Boris Yeltsin, but it is a view widely held in Central and East-

ern Europe. It explains why Lech Walesa for one continues to insist, as

be did during his recent visit to Hel-

sinki, that nothing short of NATO

The writer is a former Finnish am-bassador to the United Nations. He

contributed this comment to the Inter-

national Herald Tribune.

membership will reassure Poland.

BARCELONA --- An Anarchist outrage of unprecedented atrocity has been committed at the Teatro del Liceo. The winter opera season was opened last night [Nov. 8] and the vast theatre was crowded with the efite of Barcelona society. During the second act two Orsini bombs were thrown from a gallery into the orchestra stalls. Among the debris were lying the corpses of nine women and six men.

1918: Surrender Terms

PARIS - The following official announcement was made at noon yesterday [Nov. 8]: "The German dele-gates arrived this morning at Marshal Foch's general headquarters. They formally declared an armistice. The text of the Allies' conditions was read and handed to them. They asked for an immediate suspension of hostil-

ities. This was refused. The enemy has 72 hours to give an answer.

Second Serbian Army on Wednesday [Nov. 6] entered Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, where the population gave them an enthusiastic welcome. Preparations are being made in Belgrade to celebrate the proclamation of the union of all Serbian, Croatian and Slovene countries, including Serbia proper and Montenegro, in one inde-pendent and democratic state.

#### 1943: Victory or Death

LONDON - [From our New York edition;] Adolf Hirter told the Ger-man people today [Nov. 8] that they face victory or destruction and called on them to fight to a finish, to the limit of endurance and the extreme of fanaticism. Der Fuchrer spoke, Berin announced, at the Loewenbrau beer cellar at Munich, on the twenteth anniversary of the 1923 beer-oellar putsch. "Wage war with ruthless determination and energy, no matter what the momentary situation may be and no matter where we are com-BELGRADE - The troops of the pelled to fight," Hitler said.

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**OPINION** 

### The Iraqgate Stone Wall Runs All the Way to Reno

#### By William Safire

WASHINGTON -Let me take you behind the scenes in the exposure of a scandal, as the irresistible forces of inquiry slam into the immovable stone wall of coverup.

In Iraggate, the Bush administration arranged for billions in unlawful financ-ing of President Saddam Hussein through the Atlanta office of Italy's Banca Lavoro. To avert embarrassment after the Iraqi's double-cross, the U.S. Justice Department conspired with Italy to obstruct the investigation of Saddam's bankers and George Bush's top aides.

This Sunday, the forces of inquiry got a bible to work from: "Spider's Web: The Secret History of How the White House Illegally Armed Iraq." Alan Friedman, whose reports in the Finan-cial Times and on ABC's "Nightline" have helped move the revelations along, brings together the story that most media have shied away from because corruption's great friend is complexity.

In Congress, the relentless Inspector Javert of Iraqgate - the House Banking Committee chairman, Henry Gonzalez of Texas - will take testimony from the convicted Atlanta branch manager who is the designated fall guy for higher-ups

in Rome and Washington. Also subpoenaed is Rinaldo Petrig-nani of Rogers & Wells, who as Italian ambassador made the approach to Mr. Bush's attorney general for the "damage control" that Dick Thoroburgh denies ordering. But my friend Rinaldo, who was only doing his country's bidding, is also being sought by Italian authorities on a bribery charge and may be too busy to finger American culprits.

That's what revelation bas going for it this week. But the lorces of inquiry can do little without a court-appointed independent counsel, which calls for passage of a new law.

#### Confusion at the Top

T O JUDGE from a sobering poll re-leased last Tuesday by the Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press, whatever disarray affects the Clinton State Department affects equally the various elites on whose collective wisdom the administration might bope to rely. Six hundred forty-nine leaders in nine groups were asked to name which of six dangers facing the world was greatest, Fifty-one percent of scientisis named population growth as the greatest danger. No other elite could muster even a 50 percent vote for any given danger. The day is clearly past when every foreign policy problem could be considered a moment in the lifeand-death challenge posed to the West by the Soviet Union. Now, we have the luxury of considering each problem more nearly on its own merits, and the result is the confusion the poll reports.

— Los Angeles Times.

On the side of stonewalling is a group of Republican senators led by John McCain, protected by Bob Dole, who want to delay a floor vote on the independent counsel bill.

They have high-sounding excuses, but the real reason is to drag a foot until the 1989 crimes of Iraqgate come under the statute of limitations. Despite no agreement from Republicans not to filiuster, George Mitchell, the majority leader, assures me: "I will bring up the bill for a vote before the Thanksgiv-

ing recess." We'll see. Behind that stone wall is another stone wall: Attorney General Janet Reno. When asked if she would seek a special prosecutor from the court if the law passed, she told me: "I have no conflict of interest on Iraqgate." In other words, she will profess to be a Democrat investigating a Republican administration's crimes, and will refuse to honor Bill Clinton's promise of independent counsel.

Her protestation of no-conflict is a charade: The former Criminal Division chief who stands to be investigated in the Banca Lavoro damage control is Ed Den-nis, the whitewasher chosen by Ms. Reno's deputy to find "no blame" in her Waco blunder. It is all one cozy. selfprotecting establishment: but when asked if Justice's Criminal Division can investigate itself, Ms. Reno replies blithely, "It's my Criminal Division now."

Do not lose heart; persistence pays. In February, revelations in The New York Times forced the Senate intelligence committee into reporting that the CIA told Justice about Rome's corrupt inovement, following which everybody lied. But that staff report was fuzzy; I submitted 28 groups of questions fol-

lowing leads in it. Example: The report read, "The chief prosecutor and chief investigator on the case were part of a Justice delegation which met with the Italian ambassador." asked: "Who were these two Americans? Who arranged this meeting and where was it? Were minutes kept? Was this the same Italian ambassador [Petrignani] who saw Attorney General Thornburgh at a White House reception? Did Senate staff ask why a memo was pre-pared by the chief of the Criminal Division [Dennis] for the AG three days before the approach at the White House?"

Committee staffers, who did not want to admit that they failed to ask the right questions, stonewalled. But recently I sat next to the co-chairman at a dinner and lo! the staff found time to answer my questions seriatim. (In the example given, the Americans were Justice's Gail McKenzie and Agriculture's Art Wade, and no, the hurried committee staff did not think to ask the follow-ups.)

That's bow the battle between revealers and resisters goes on. Justice will prevail when somebody in Justice goes to jail.

The New York Times.



#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Good Deal for France

According to one study, the partial trade liberalization in agriculture, manufacturing and intellectual property envisaged in the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade could add \$25 billion to the annual income of France and generate a million new jobs. If, for all that, France vetoes the Blair House accord on farm subsidies, the talks surely will fail. Then French exports of services, high-tech products and wines and spirits could suffer. Investor confidence would be shattered, since the country already is in recession. And America could well strike a trade deal with Asia and the Pacific region to the detriment of Europe, including France. Consequently, there are grounds for France to accept the Blair House deal with whatever concessions it can secure from the United States. And the government should launch an information campaign to enlist even more public support for a global trade agreement.

#### M. VASUDEVAN.

**Turkey and the Kords** 

Regarding "Here's a Better Road for Turkey to Travel" (Opinion, Oct. 29) by William Safire: The solution to the Kurdisb problem is not a military one, but a political and

economic one, While the Kurdish Workers Party, or PKK, remains murderous Marxist anathema in this age, the Turkish armed forces, with their clumsy and brutal response to PKK terror, have not only alienated local Kurdish inhabitants

but made them sympathetic and respon-sive to the otherwise unattractive PKK. If I may offer some advice to Prime For Pollard, Justice Is Jail Regarding "Justice for J. J. Pollard" (Letters, Oct. 20): Minister Tansu Ciller: For the sake of Turkey, be stronger than the generals. Constance Konold's letter cannot Return to your pledge of accommoda-tion with the Kurds. Turkey shall be not stand unchallenged. Jonathan Jay Polonly the richer but also the wiser.

ERIC SEAN GOLDSTEIN. Oxford, England.

#### Hurrah for Rao

Regarding "The Party in Power Is Self-Destructive" (Opinion, Oct. 21): I have to disagree with James Manor that India's Congress tI) Party is on its way to self-destruction, for in the past, the party has been split, resplit, born and reborn. Even though his is a minority government. Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's clever Machiavellianism has opened India's gates to prosperity. For India's good, long may he reign.

Regarding "Piaf: The Talent vs. the Legend" (Oct. 20) by Mike Zwerin: Edith Piaf was unique not only for her voice (the quality of which defies imita-tion) but also the following: KISAN MEHTA. New Delhi,

#### Nothing Romantic About It

Regarding photographs of a bullfighter (July 5) and the running of the bulls in Pamplono, Spain (July 8):

The photographs you printed a few months back should have been titled "Barbaric Savagery Continues in Spain." The bulls are tormented, provoked and tortured in front of cheering people, then killed as the crowd shouts for more. These cruel, uncivilized and monstrous pastimes must be stopped.

BRIAN COULMAN. Harare, Zimbabwe.

**Remembrance** Is the Way To Live With That Hole

#### By Robert B. Goldmann

N EW YORK -Fifty-five years ago N today, my family and I experi-enced Kristallnacht in Frankfurt, What we did not know, after that night of attacks on Jewish businesses and synagogues, and then after my father's brush with death during his monthlong confinement in the Bucbeuwald concentration camp, was that unimaginably worse was to come.

Five years later, I was working in the newsroom of the Voice of America, an important source of information at the

#### MEANWHILE

time. My family had managed to find refuge in New York, and I bad gone on to become a German-language an-nouncer for the U.S. government's new worldwide broadcast service. But I did not know about Auschwitz. I announced news from the war fronts

and read stories and commentary on the latest developments in American agri-culture, science and the arts. What I did not announce, because it came in no script until after the war, was that millions of Jews and Gypsies had been gassed and burned in Nazi death camps. There was no news about that, only

rumors. And at VOA, rumors were nonusable currency. Everything we aired, whether from the wire services or other sources, had to be solidly confirmed. Lat-

er, as the horrible pictures of the death camps were shown in newsreels or de-scribed in suitably gruesome detail in the lard is in no way a "political prisoner." and his 1987 conviction for spying was not merely for "providing Israel with classified information" but for selling newspapers, I asked myself: Where was I when Uncle Arthur, Tante Gertrude and Ilse Wassermann - not to mention all it (and at a rather high price), while the others - disappeared? If the news had appeared in a script employed at a high salary in a top-secret security job with U.S. naval counterintelligence. There were no re-

I was to read to my German-speaking audience, could I have done it with the deeming circumstances in his case professional calm and detachment that whatsoever. He deserves to be where he is — in prison for the rest of his life. was expected? I think I could have. It was my job to do so. But more than that, cold, unadorned accounts of what had ROBERT BRENTON BETTS. happened would have been the most effective way to tell the German people what they needed to be told. And they did have to be told, in detail, to ensure

that they remembered. Today there is discussion in Germany of a Holocaust memorial. Why isn't there one already? Did it take the inauguration of the memorial in Washington to remind Germans of the Holocaust?

· Her friendships in the larger world It is too easy, and eminently unjust, to say that "the Germans haven't changed" of artists and performers (Jean Cocteau, - a refrain heard too frequently among Jews and others who think there is some-. Her keen sense of new talent and her discovery and support of many who

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Lesters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

thing intrinsically evil about Germans. This writer, after many visits to Germany since the war and a good deal of work to combat prejudice and anti-Semitism, is convinced that, like so many things, the issue is much more complicated.

There are those who, out of a deep conviction and sense of responsibility. work actively for an appropriate memorial to the genocide of Jews and Gypsies. Others, like many of the thousands who have joined candlelight marches to protest violence against forcigners. probably would support a memorial but not actively work for it. They are simply

not the activist type. Then there are those who ask: "Aren't we already doing everything we can to fight the neo-Nazi crazics with the methods our democratic society allows? Haven't we already paid a price in the world's eyes? Won't we ever become a

The answer to all these questions is "no." The questions themselves betray a defensiveness, a resentment, a craving for "normalcy" that are the wrong mindset when it comes to the Holocaust. For there is a hole in Germany, as Willy Brandt once put it, that can never be closed and which succeeding generations have to live with: the unfillable hole left by the millions who fell victim to genocide committed in Germany's name

Living with that requires remembrance, not resentment: thoughtfulness. not defensiveness; and tolerance, not paternalism. Perhaps it calls for a memorial to the victims, probably one just for the Jews who had made such an immeasurable contribution to German success and culture.

More importantly, living with that bole suggests actions, policies and principles applied in daily life, in schools, churches, business and professional associations, trade nnions, law enforce-ment agencies. The theme that will make remembrance meaningful is tolerance, writ large, a natural acceptance of people who are different as individuals, not as Turks or Jews or Vietnamese.

This will require leadership from on high, and persistent efforts in local organizations and in homes. Many Germans are working at it, most recently in coop-eration with Americans committed to the same objective.

It's worthwhile, not just for the sake of remembrance, but because it will give full meaning to the message played on Deutsche Welle, Germany's international broadcast service: "Brother looks out for brother, and helps wherever he can." from Schiller's "Ode to Joy," Working toward this goal, the Voice of Germany can become the voice of remembrance,

tolerance and decency. I won't live long enough to witness the completion of much good work that is being done, much less to announce it. I wish I could,





Paris.

Beirut.

In Praise of Piaf

for one)

car will know.

Her role as a film actress,

outlived her. Talent recognizes talent.

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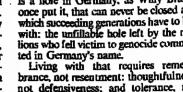
finds its enduring foundation in a rare

generosity of the spirit, a full giving of oneself. Before you read the books

about her, why not just listen - your

JONATHAN LEAKE.

normal country?"



Page 5



### **Muslim Women Face America Support Groups Organize to Protect Rights**

GREAT FALLS, Virginia --Maha Alkhateeb bad just come home from a job search at the malt. Her long, dark hair tumbled out as she pulled off her black hejah, the scarf many Muslim women use 10 cover their bair.

Page 6

"People look at me and they're like. 'She wants to work here?' 'said Miss Alkhateeb. 19. referring to the stares she said she received when she applied for a clerical job at an optician's store.

Being treated as an oddity by most Americans, she said, is one of many things that complicates the life of a Muslim woman in the United States. Her mother, Sharifa, said. "They think of Muslim women with huge sheets on and three children trailing behind ber and ber trailing behind ber husband who just finished beating ber."

But Muslim women are now trying to help themselves. Driven by desire to support each other and by anger at the discrimination they encounter, Muslim women from rural Florida to Los Angeles to suburban Virginia have begun to organize into small community groups and large national associa-tions. Mrs. Alkhateeb is president of the North American Council for Muslim Women

These groups debate the merits of veiling, raise money for fellow

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Muslims in Bosnia and discuss how they can get the United States to accept them in its parent-teacher associations, mails and banks. And they talk about their anger.

States, Muslims said they were beginning to draw bosule attention even as they sought to define a role in society. "Muslim women here are starting to mobilize because they feel demonized," said Yvonne laddad, a history professor at the female lawyers, medical profes-University of Massachusetts who sionals and broadcast journalists. has written extensively about The Muslim Women's League, a

American Muslims. Events like the World Trade Center bombing have increased hostility toward Muslims, she said. but the atmosphere of bostility provides Muslims with "a force to come together." In organizing, Muslim women

are stepping out from behind their husbands and fathers, who were usually the first to try to crack the language and cultural codes of their new nation.

"It is a universal pattern really." Ms. Haddad said. "When it looks like things are falling apart, the women step up. They used to defer to men, but when they see things Others have formed shelters for battered women. Often, they are meetings where plans are made to are getting done, they organize challenge school boards that refuse to excuse their children for Muslim holidays, small-town newspapers

Muslim women from abroad are finding certain freedoms and mothat mock their dress and employ-

ers who deny jobs to members of their community. Wanda Khan, 37, a convert who lives in Charlotte, North Carolina, has had problems moving from home day care to a public teaching position.

"For me the biggest problem is getting a professional job wearing a hejab." she said. "I know that I am more than qualified, but a school official told me that there is a school policy against wearing hats. I told him it was a religious thing, and that I couldn't remove it, and that I would take it up with the

board,"

#### First for Royal Europe: Juan Carlos in Israel

Reulers TEL AVIV — King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia of Spain arrived in Israel on Monday for a three-day visit, the first by a European monarch to the Jewish state.

The king and queen were met at Ben-Gurion airport by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and traveled by car to a welcoming ceremony in Jerusalem. Carlos is scheduled to meet representatives of the Palestinian community on Tuesday. He will also address Israel's parliament

The European role is very important, not only in economic but also in political terms, Mr. Arafat said at a news conference after meeting EC foreign ministers during his twoday visit to Brussels.

Mr. Arafat, who said earlier that he was

expecting "a lot" of help from the 12-member bloc, said assistance was needed to rebuild communications systems, hospitals, schools and other infrastructure. During his visit, diplomats said, Mr. Ara-

fat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was being treated like a head of state — a point of protocol that Israeli sources said would be carefully noted by the Jewish state.

Hanan Ashrawi, who was spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Arab-Israeli peace talks, is joining Mr. Arafat at - Seek Clout In Jordan

hiff

put

Tokyo

AMMAN, Jordan -- Jordanians voted Monday in their first multi-party election in 37 years, with the

Despite complaints of govern-ment harassment, including a ban on public rallies and campaigning of the Front, predicted that it would win at least the 22 sents held in the last legislature.

parliament all the attempts at norization with the Jewish state and the Zionist onslaught with all the political means within the law,"

cal concerns such as unemployment, the Islamic Action Front was alone in focusing on the emotional issue of opposing peace with Israel. However, independent political observers believed that the Front would do well just to maintain its (ormer strength, a view reinforced by fumlamentalists' complaints that their campaign had been burt by King Hussein's government.

to be reckoned with in Jordan's political life and a major force in parliament irrespective of the final esuits," Mr. Farban said.

King Hussein, speaking at an election press center, said legislators must show responsibility "at this very crucial stage" in Jordan's

or deny Israeli reports that he had screetly conducted negotiations on economic and political ties in Amman this week with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel.

Despite the potential for a divisive debate over current peace talks with Israel - the king had considered postponing the vote - the first multiparty election since 1956 was relatively tame;

lim Brotherhood intact when he banned political parties after a leftist coup attempt in 1957. In a 1989 election it won the largest-bloc in

emment by opposing economic reforms, trying to impose Islamic rules and persistently making accusations of corruption.

1.1

BRUSSELS - Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, made his first official visit to the European Community on Monday and said the Community's moral and material support was vital to rebuild the devastated occupied

territories.

aroused by the killing of a settler. "We bold the Israeli Army and the Israeli government fully responsible for the what the settlers are doing," said Faisal Husseini, the selves."

ways throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip with rocks and burning tires for a second day. Thousands of Palestinian laborers were prevented from reaching their jobs in Israel during the three-bour blockade.

On the West Bank, a Palestinian and his son were wounded when shots were fired at their car near the settlement of Tapuah south of Nablus. The Committee for Security on the Roads, a militant Jewish group, claimed responsibility for the shooting in a phone call

On Sunday, a Palestinian was shot and seriously wounded in the Gaza Strip and at least 20 Arabs were reportedly injured when settlers smashed car windows and assaulted motorists.

The settlers had taken to the streets after Palestinian gunnen near Hebron wounded a prominent rabbi and killed his driver. The settlers had told the army in advance

that they would block the highways from 4:30 to 7:30 A.M., but despite warnings from the army that the roads would be kept open, many roadblocks remained. This prompted Mr. Husseini's charge of a double standard. But Israeli officials denied this.

The Community is the biggest single aid

donor to the occupied territories and has made the Middle East one of its foreign

priorities, along with the former Yugoslavia

Ecus (\$102 million) of aid into the West Bank

and Gaza Strip this year and has said it also

has backing for a five-year development plan

The 12-member bloc is pumping 90 million

## **Peace Foes** Election

Islamic Action in 37 years, which the Islamic Action Front seeking enough legislative seats to obstruct plans to make peace with Israel. The fundamentalist party, the disciplined political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, contested 36 of the Source in the learn home.

of the 80 seats in the lower house.

on pursue railies and campaigning in mosques, Ishaq Farhan, leader

"We will confront in the next Mr. Farhan said.

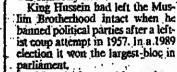
In a campaign dominated by lo-

"We will continue to be a force

DISLOFY.

The monarch refused to confirm





parliament. Although they could not shape legislation, they irritated the gov-

Arafat, in Brussels, Received as a Head of State

#### bility that they lacked in their native countries, and the converts are finding that they can embrace lsam and still retain what they want from the American ethos of inde-With three million 10 four million adherents of Islam in the United pendence, hard work and self-ex-Dression. There are roughly 30 Muslim women's organizations in the United States. Ten vears ago, there were about five. Some organize themselves around their professions: there is an association of Muslim



Armed Jewish settlers praying Monday as they blocked the main road from Nablus to Jerusalen and the exit from a refugee camp.

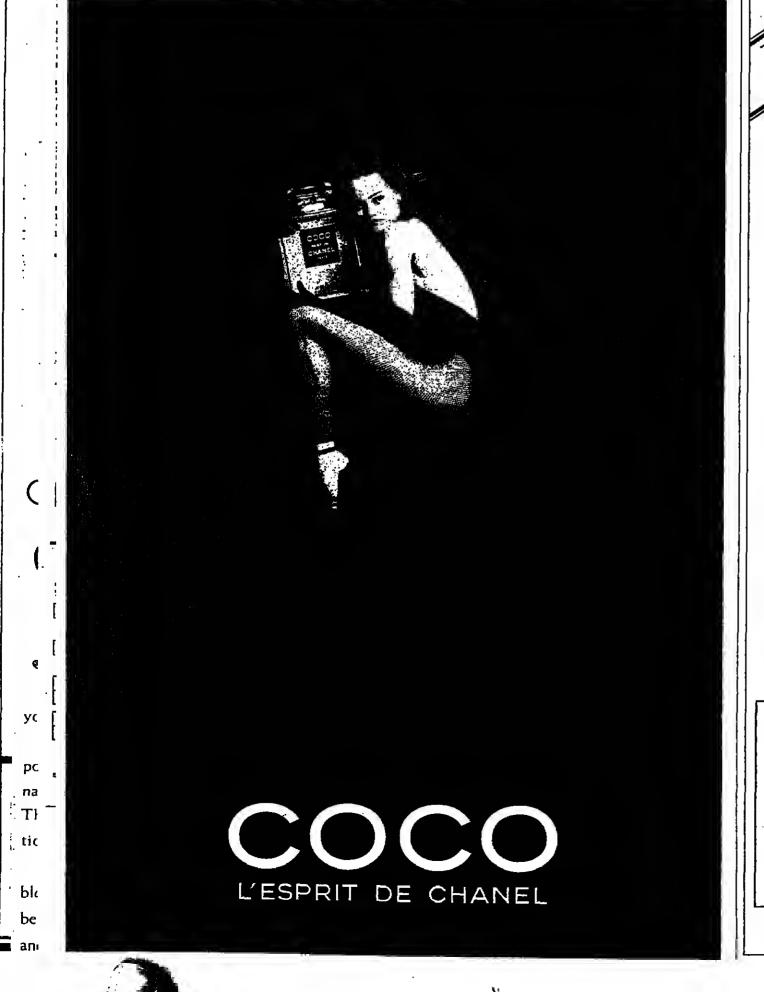
### **Israel Accused of 2 Standards on Unrest**

### leading representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the occupied territories. "We will know bow to defend our-

JERUSALEM - As protesting Jewish settlers barricaded highways in the occupied territories with little interference from the

Arab traffic was paralyzed during the early morning rush hour as settlers blocked higharmy, a Palestinian leader accused the Israeli

### to Israel Radio. In the Gaza Strip, Arab-owned bothouses were set on fire.



## HANDBOOK

Mrs. Ashrawi said,

and South Africa.

valued at 500 million Ecus.

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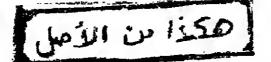
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### ace For ek Clour Jordan Cetion Whiff of Scandal **Clouds Future of** Tokyo Reform Bill

By T.R. Reid ngton Post Service TOKYO - Ichiro Ozawa, a member of parliament and a chief strategist for Japan's governing coalition, argued at a news confer-ence Monday that his receipt of contributions from a construction company louched by scandal proved the need for a law that he is pushing to tighten contribution nules

Appearing unmoved by his brush with scandal, Mr. Ozawa conceded the truth of news reports saying he received contributions in December from Kajima Corp., a general contractor that has recently been charged with bribing numerous senior politicians to help win government contracts.

Mr. Ozawa insisted that the contributions were legal. Whether this is so depends on how much money was received and how it was used. Mr. Ozawa provided minimal information on those points.

He noted that detailed reporting is not required under Japan's cur-rent political contribution law. Accordingly, he called for a new law that would force politicians to rebar would force pointcians to re-port the very information he de-clined to reveal Monday. Mr. Ozawa, who left the long-dominant Liberal Democratic Par-

ty in June to help form the Japan Renewal Party, plays an important role in the coalition government's effort to pass a major new political reform law, which would include tough new regulations on corporate contributio

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:6

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa must get the bill approved in the lower house of partiament by next week in order to get it enacted by the end of the year. That is his No. 1 legislative priority.

If Mr. Hosokawa can successfully steer the bill to passage, that will greatly enhance his stature, and probably extend the life of his coa-lition government for 2 year or more. It would also assure Mr. Hosokawa the political clout to make other changes, including the opening of Japan's rice market to imports from the United States and

If the political reform bill does not pass in the next two weeks, it probably will not be fatal for the coalition. But failure could undermine Mr. Hosokawa's potential to achieve the broad economic and regulatory changes he is seeking. Since Mr. Ozawa is an important member of the seven-party alliance that makes up Mr. Hosokawa's government, there was considerable debate here about the impact

of the contributions from Kajima. One theory, which seems to be shared by Mr. Ozawa himself, is that the latest news will not harm the prospects of the political contribution bill.

Another view holds that, because of Mr. Ozawa's clout in the coalition, his admission will embarrass Mr. Hosokawa and make it harder for him to force the bill through in the next two weeks. But since the contributions in question — about \$46,000 according to news reports — are relatively small for a major politician here, and since Mr. Ozawa insisted so forcefully that his receipts were legal, the damage to Mr. Hosokawa may be small.

Many top Japanese politicians have been accused of receiving illicit contributions in recent years, Normally, they respond with a flat denial and no further comment.

Mr. Ozawa, in contrast, came striding into a jammed news con-ference Monday with a broad smile and calmly took questions for an

He seemed unfazed even when reporters quoted the sentence from his own best-selling book that calls for public reporting of every contribution "down to the last yen." Mr. Ozawa conceded that he had not done this for the Kajima contributions, but argued that current law does not require it.

The proposal in his book, he said, "is about what the law should be in the future.

#### Drug Smuggler Is Executed

By Taiwan

Reiders TAIPEI - A Taiwanese fisherman was executed Monday for smuggling drogs onto the island from China, the first execution of a drug smuggler in 13 years, a prison spokes-man said.

Hsu Wen-ta, 34, hying on his back, was shot twice in the temple at the penitentiary in Kaohsiung at dawn, said the prison secretary-general, Chen Chin-feng.

Last month; the Supreme Court upheld the death sentence on Mr. Hsu, captain of a fishing boat, for smuggling 38.7 kilograms (85 pounds) of heroin conto the island from China last November.



Mr. Ozawa at his Tokyo news conference, where he conceded having received corporate funds.

### Hanoi Said to Be Abusing Prisoner

and trade relations.

denied that the doctor is being mis-treated. In a statement last week,

the Foreign Ministry in Hanoi said

Dr. Que "is in very good condition.

+ Amtria

+ Subject

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New York Times Service

TO CALL ONE FOREIGN

COUNTRY FROM ANOTHER.

BANGKOK - Human rights groups and foreign diplomats have received reports that Vietnam is mistreating its most prominent po-litical prisoner, a doctor who has spent most of the last 15 years in il because of his harsh criticism of

the government. The prisoner, Nguyen Dan Que, has a history of poor health. Hu-man rights groups and Dr. Que's family in the United States say they have received reliable information in recent weeks that the 51-year-old radiologist is being held in solitary confinement and that he has been forced to resume hard labor.

Concerns about Dr. Que were heightened in August, when Viet-namese officials abruptly canceled a meeting between Dr. Que and Senator Charles S. Robb, Democrat of Virginia.

The State Department and Mr. normal condition, and he is not Robb have raised Dr. Que's plight being forced to do labor." in recent meetings with Vietnamese officials, suggesting that mistreatment of Dr. Que could slow pro-

gress toward normal diplomatic In a handwritten letter dated Mr. Robb met last month with Aug. 29 and said by Dr. Que's fam-Deputy Foreign Minister Le Mai ily to have been smuggled out of

son camp, Dr. Que wrote that the Hanoi government was trying to take "revenge" on him. After forming a group called the National Front for Progress, Dr. Que was arrested in 1978 on The letter said the government was "carrying out a lot of measures of terror and repression against the charges of "rebellion" and impris-

litical prisoners after the failure of the meeting between me and Senator Charles Robb." The Vietnamese government has

While Vietnam's Communist government has moved in recent years to improve its image by re-leasing hundreds of political pris-oners, it continues to imprison several dissidents, including Dr. Que.

through "and reiterated my deep concern about Dr. Que's health." oned without trial for 10 years.

After his release in 1988, he formed a new group, and he was arrested again in 1990.

### **U.S.-Pakistan Talks Deadlock** No Progress on Nuclear Nonproliferation

Compiled In: One Staff From Dupatches (SLAMABAD, Pakistan - Pakistani and U.S. officials made scant progress in resolving differences over Islamabad's nuclear program after (wo days of talks, officials said Monday.

Kashmir as a disputed territory." the U.S. official said. "I: would be misleading if I said there was an opening on nonproliferation." said a senior U.S. official who declined to he named. "But we

have a dialogue going. Assistant Secretary of State Robin L. Raphel held two days of talks with Prime Minister Benazir Bhauo; the army chief. General Abdul Waheed, and other officials, The discussions focused on strained Pakistan-U.S. lies and Islamahad's differences with India over the disputed region of Kashm'r.

"A window of opportunity has teen opened for improved Paki-stan-U.S. relations." a Pakistani spokesman quoted Miss Bhutto as telling a cabinet meeting after the 12/15

Traditionally friendly relations between the United States and Pa-kistan have been strained for more than three years by U.S. suspicions that Islamabad is using its nuclear program to make weapons, a charge Pakistan denics.

Washington cut off all military and new economic aid to Pakistan in 1990, Last August. is ordered economic sanctions against Pakistan and China, saying Beijing had sold sensitive missile technology to Islamabad in violation of internatienal arms controls.

"We have worked hard to cooperate with Pakistan but we are stuck in a legal bind that provides no flexihility," the U.S. official said, commenting on talks on the nuclear issue.

"Noneroliferation remains a major concern for the government of the United States." the official said. Pakistan refuses to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty unless India also does so.

"We come away feeling we have accomplished quite a bit," the U.S. official said. "It doesn't mean there were specific agreements, break-

But the official said Washington was putting pressure on both India and Pakistan to resolve their differences over Kashmir, which brought the neighbors - both believed to have a nuclear capability - to the brink of war in 1990.

Assistant Secretary of State Ra-phel, who is not visiting India this trip, has angered New Delhi by

saying that the United States re-gards Kashmir as a disputed terri-day Monday, and India sent in retory rather than an integral pan of inforcements and evacuated nearby villages.

Three soldiers from Pakistan We have always viewed the forwere killed, raising its army's death toll to six. United News of India mer princely state of Jammu and reported. No casualties were reponed by India's army or Border Indian and Pakistani soldiers ex-Security Forces. (Reuters, AP) changed machine gun fire across

Signs of a Hardening In U.S. Tone on Korea

#### Acenter France Press

SEOUL - A South Korean official said Monday that President Bill Climon's warning that a North Korean attack on the South would mean war with the United States was confirmation of longstanding policy, but some analysts said it marked a hardening of the U.S. position

Michael Breen, a North Korea specialist with Seoul-based Ment Consulting, said that in "the last few days, there seems to be a real change in the tone of what is coming out of U.S. multiary and intelligence."

"Cinton is probably talking tough because somebody has told him you can negotiate with the North Koreans, but they see It as a sign of weakness." Mr. Breen said.

Mr. Clinton said in a broadcast interview Sunday that a North Korean attack against the South would be viewed as an attack upon the United States. He reiterated that Pyongyang "cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb.

A senior South Korean Foreign Ministry official, speaking pri-vately, said Mr. Clinton was reconfirming stated policy of pursuing dialogue while maintaining a strong defensive posture.

"Clinton is repeating our bottom line that North Korea should not be allowed to possess nuclear weapons." the official said.

Cha Young Ku, research director for the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis, which is backed by the Seoul government, said hat any attack on the South would inevitably have an effect on the United States since there are already American troops in South Korea.

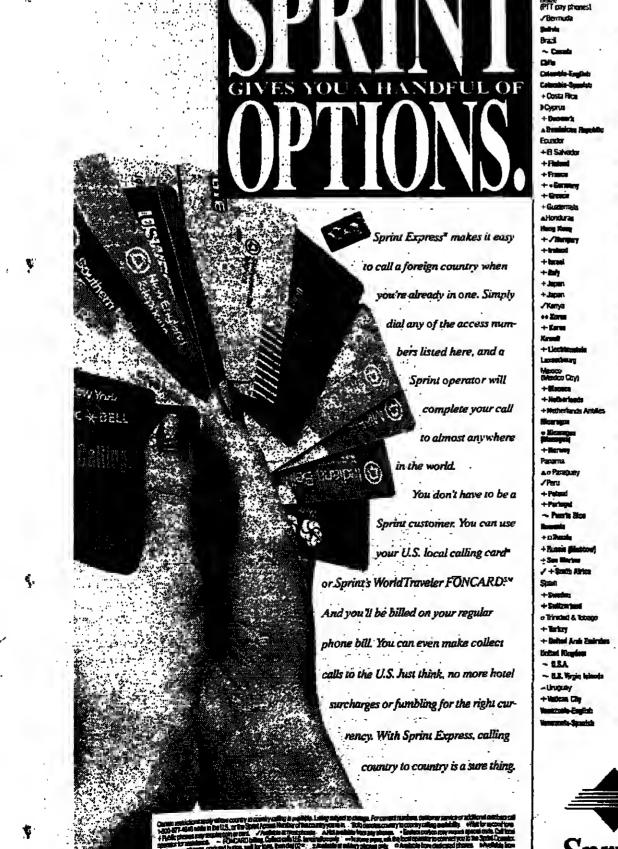
About 36,000 U.S. troops are in the South as a "trip-wire" against aggression by the North and as a reminder that an attack on the South will automatically draw American and allied UN troops into the action.

The North Korean Communist Party has summoned an emergeny Central Committee meeting for next week, apparently to work out a stance in the face of mounting international pressure for the North to allow inspections by a UN agency of its nuclear facilities.



### ASIA & THE PACIFIC Merging Business & the Environment

By Philip Shenon



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#### POLICY: U.S. Foreign Affairs Triumvirate Stymied by Clinton's Apparent Lack of Interest UKRAINE: **Cradle of Porerty**

**Continued** from Page 1 state and the deputy in the Busb administration, senior officials

In their quest to make things better, the three share important strengths: high intelligence. total dedication to public service and the determination to keep disputes to a minimum. They share a major frustration as well: that the president, the one person with the talent and stature to inspire and lead, is insuf-

ficiently interested ers in June. Mr. Christopher marched into Mr. Lake has told his aides that the Oval Office earlier this month such criticism is unfair, saying that the committee of "deputies" run by and argued that the presideot's briefings by Mr. Lake - scheduled daily and often-postponed --- were not enough to insure that Mr. Clinton could direct policy decisions during takeoff rather than to put assistant secretaries of state must do most of the preparatory work. out fires after crash landings.

Senior Pentagon officials, mean-There was also a need to name while, contend that the problem Strobe Talbott-like clones - senior lies with Mr. Lake's National Secutroubleshooters, who, like Mr. Talrity Council team, which they call bott, the ambassador at large for disorganized and highly politithe former Soviet Union, would cut through the interagency bureaucra-cy and keep policy on course, Mr. cized

While Mr. Christopher and Mr. Christopher said. Finally. he urged Aspin say they get along well, they have sharply different styles. Mr. Christopher is so disciplined that the president to begin a strategy of centralized message-making to stanch the contradictory signals sent to Congress and to the Ameribe prepares and edits written remarks even for a short encounter with a lawinaker or a journalist, so That means a more visible and active role for Mr. Gergen. Mr. goal-oriented that he sees every meeting as an opportunity to get Christopher and Mr. Aspin have results. Mr. Aspin takes the stream-

argued that the communications of-consciousness approach, believchief should have a permanent seat ing that asking the right question is just as important as getting the at all White House meetings of the top national security advisers. right answer. Nothing illustrates the differ-

Although Mr. Lake has strongly argued against it. according to seences better than a closed-door Sonior officials, it is likely to bappen malia briefing on Capitol Hill after because Mr. Clinton wants it to 18 Americans were killed and dozhappen. Mr. Gergen smooths over ens wounded last month. Mr. the differences, saying: "Tony has never expressed his opposition. Christopher came up with a looseleaf binder of answers, tabulated We're letting it evolve." according to subject. Mr. Aspin had scribbled a few notes on the That the bureaucratic turf battle was disclosed at all illustrates just back of a manila envelope.

how serious the soul-searching bas Lawmakers were particularly enbecome due to the policy failures of raged when Mr. Aspin asked them Bosnia. Somalia and Haiti. for advice on what the administra-

Both Mr. Christopher and Mr. Aspin were said to be furious when

can people.

no one at the White House told because Mr. Clinton was a day them that the CIA was sending away from making a decision. "We shouldn't have gone up, and briefers to Capitol Hill to tell lawmakers that Haiti's exiled presi-I said we shouldn't have gone up." dent, the Reverend Jean-Bertrand said Mr. Aspin, who spent 22 years

Aristide, was mentally unstable. in Congress, a number as chairman In recent weeks, Mr. Christopher of the House Armed Services Comhas made no secret of his convicmittee. tion that the White House-led poli-When Mr. Aspin is asked by colcy-making process has problems, stating publicly that there should have probably been a high-level releagues whether there is room for personal improvement, he pushes the questions away. Mr. Christoview of American policy in Somalia after the killing of UN peacekeeppher acknowledges that his personality may not be magnetic, but quips that it is a little late to cha It is Mr. Lake who is being overhauled.

his own deputy, Samuel R. Berger, A self-acknowledged perfection-can only do so much and that ist, he describes himself to friends strong working groups under the as a Type-A personality who loves to fly around with the air force in an F-15 and finds it amosing that reporters describe him as a laidback-professor type.

Continued from Page 1

est single column of coins ever

stacked on the edge of a coin was

made up of 253 Indian one rupes

pieces on tap of a vertical five ru-pee coin, by Dipak Syal of Yamuna

Saturday night reading a biography of the Civil War hero Joshua L. Chamberlein, and he fantasizes about writing a book about the 17th-century Pequot Indian wars. But longtime friends and col-

leagt is say that his insistence that he would rather be milking cows on his 140-acre farm in Western Massachusetts is a smoke screen and that he is determined to go down in history as a foreign policy success. Mr. Lake said in a book he cowrote in 1984 that the national security adviser "should be strictly aninside operator.

"To avoid the massive confusion of the last decade and more, the adviser should not speak publicly, engage in diplomacy, or undermine the secretary with Congress and the news media," be said. But the anonymity has evaporatirony, "A star is born.":

then I will he on top of the world. That is my mission."

Not all of India's Guinness

champs are there by diat of accom-

plishment, Gul Mohammed, 35, a

former sweets seller, stands tall at

precisely 22.5 inches, making him

He can also be found dining ed as Mr. Lake has begun to come alone in a Japanese restaurant on a out --- giving speeches and an occaout --- giving speeches and an occa-sional on-the-record interview and perhaps planning eventually to appear on a television talk show.

His aides now portray him as a kind of stealth diplomat, regaling reporters with stories. They say he was instrumental in conduct was instrumental in conducting a 36-hour diplomatic marathon with senior Japanese officials at the Tokyo conference in July that helped forge the last-minute trade framework agreement between the two countries. And they reveal that he went on a secret mission to London and Paris to help persuade leaders

ful surprise. It has also punctured a myth held dear by many Ukrainians at independence two years ago: that come what may." woold always be richer than Rusto support an American plan for sia, thanks to the fertile soil and possible NATO air strikes to preabundant natural resources. vent the strangulation of Sarajevo.

"Twe been working here for 30 years and I can't even afford to buy When friends have asked about coffee or candy." said a 63-year-old retiree in Demiantsy, a village 50 his sudden role reversal, he has said, with more than a twist of miles east of Kiev, who asked not to be identified. She said that like

Continued from Page 1

1930s, and World War fI claimed

millions more victims on Ukraini-

an soil, many of them Jewish. The

Chemobyl nuclear disaster in 1986

But to the nation that to Com-

raunist times was the breadbasket

of the Soviet Union, the spiral into

hopelessness has come as a dread-

Ukraine

continues to claim victims .

many Ukrainians, she watches a popular Mexican soap opera called "Maria," in which the characters **RECORDS:** An Indian Nails His Spot in the Books seem astoundingly wealthy by Ukrainian standards. She is particyears for Mr. Sharma to break into the Guinness Book, pummeling a ularly irked that they all are able to allord coffee

"The poorest people in Mexico record held until then by a Chine monk. "My wife was pleased that ' are as rich as the rich people here." her husband was such a man that she declared.

appeared in the paper," he said. A result of his quest, however, In the Soviet era, Ukraine's seeming prosperity was based acuvities. While be does manage to supplied at a small fraction of the run a small advertising agency, he world price. But Rinssia now cannot travel by air or bus, and be charges 80 percent of that price for avoids crowds. "I do go to restan-avoids crowds. "I do go to restan-rants," he said, "but I have to be charge the full price starting last ' careful. Usually if people see me, To supply fuel to its industries,

Ukraine has gone deeply into debu to Russia and the Central Asian But Mr. Sharma's dominance of republic of Turkmenistan, falling nearly S1 billion behind on payments. Desperate to keep the oil and gas flowing, Mr. Kravchuk at-tempted to strike a bargain with Moscow two months ago to sell Ukraine's share of the Soviet Black Sea fleez in return for debt relief and assured fuel supplies. Since then, the deal's prospects have

the fingernail wars was staggered, with the release of the 1993 Guinness Book, declaring that the new champ was Shridhar Chillal of Maharashtra, with a solid 195 inches of nail power. Stung by the challenge, Mr. Sharma was unbowed. "I want to keep going," he said, his jaw set. "I am now 196 inches. I.

they just give way."

To ensure that his nails remain intact, Mr. Sharma has not availed himself of the city's manicurists, preferring instead to wrap his nails

"What we sensed was a very coa-

1

icuous sense of frustration, parthe domestic economy and is in-tended to address a still-muted but ucularly from the private sector," Mr. Gyohten said. They are simgrowing anger over the fact that ply fed up." While economists in the West lapanese consumers have seen little benefit from the enormous ecohave tended to view all capitalist nomic might amassed here. Mr. economies as basically similar because of the supremacy of the mar-Hosokawa is getting record approval ratings in polls in part be- kets, the Japanese have long chang cause he is seen as committed to to the view that state support is helping consumers. essential in nurturing certain busi-

EDUCATION DIRECTORY

SWITZERLAND

#### want to keep going so my record is then, the deal's prospects have never broken. Let's see how much clouded amid opposition from the time I can live." Okrainian parliament.

### JAPAN: Panel Lists Economy Rules It Will Try to End

nesses and making industries competitive internationally. .The fundamental policy underly-

ing the commission's report, however, is that the time has come to reduce government's role in the economy. It speaks frequently of "the principles of self-responsibility," meaning that businesses must get used to fending for themselves, In addition, the report suggests that Japan should become a nation of laws rather than one of bureaucratic fiat. Currently, bureaucrats can influence businesses through what is known as "administrative guidance" - in effect, orders that offen are not even written down.

The commission sought to improve chances of enactment of its proposals by recommending the creation of two bodies with supervisory responsibility. It suggested

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#### Fear of Rekindled War in El Salvador By Douglas Farah Washington Post Servic

SAN SALVADOR — A surge in political violence, including the assassinations of leaders of El Salvador's former guerrilla front, is threatening a fragile peace process in this nation struggling for reconciliation after a decade of civil war.

Assassinations Stir

Page 8

Two recent high-profile assassinations of leaders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front prompted the UN undersecretary-general. Marrack I. Goulding, to schedule a visit soon to investigate the apparent renewal of rightist death squads.

The Farabundo Marti guerrilla army became a political party after signing a UN-negotiated peace agreement 10 months ago with the rightist government. But the recent killings have engendered concern for the peace process, especially presidential, legislative and municipal elections scheduled for March. These are to be the first elections to include the Farahundo Marti.

For years, it justified armed struggle by arguing that its candidates could not compete for votes in the climate of terror that prevailed. The Farabundo Marti has contributed to the climate of unease. It has hidden large numbers of arms, and some former members have threatened reprisal assassinations against rightists. Gunmen wearing Farabundo Marti badges recently attacked a conservative newspa-

Guerrilla leaders told the United Nations that the group had destroyed or turned over all its weapons, as required under the agreements that ended the war. When a large arsenal was discovered in Nicaragua in May, the group justified the caches as necessary in case its leaders were attacked. It now says it has no hidden weapons. On Oct. 25, Francisco Velis, 37, a Farahundo Marti leader and

candidate for the Legislative Assembly, was shot and killed, and four days later so was Heleno Hernán Castro, 36, a popular former guerrilla commander in the San Vicente region. "The peace process can be lost because of actions like these," said

Roberto Roca, one of the five top leaders of the Farabundo Marti. "If recalcitrant sectors of the far right want to do this, we have to tell them we will not stand for it."

At a news conference after the killing of Mr. Velis, the guerrilla leader Ana Guadalupe Martinez said: "The credibility of the changes in this country is at risk if this murder is oot cleared up. There are sectors who never wanted to accept the peace accords. We must not see the death squads as isolated, clandestine groups. They have a political plan, a political body and a political head. There is sufficient evidence to find the guilty." President Alfredo Cristiani, of the conservative Nationalist Re-

publican Alliance, condemned the killings and promised "serious investigations." The U.S. ambassador, Alan Flanigan, announced that the FBI, at the invitation of the government, would assist.

Nagar, India on 3 May 1991." "I wanted to do something exthe shortest living adult on the traordinary," explained Mr. Syal, planet "People come to see me because of this," said Mr. Gul "something new, independently. In this line I got encouragement from the media, not from the govern-For determination, though, for ment officials. Right now I am

exemplify the compulsions of the Gumness Book, a compulsion that

> "I never imagined it would turn to this," be confessed. "It requires time, or the nails could break."

> > in blue and white tape. It took 14

sheer dint of perseverance, Mr. Sharma and his tendril-like nails

has dramatically altered his life.

patience just for perfection. I can't sleep more than half an hour at a

break at least 11 world records and **Continued from Page 1** 

on each other," he said, "but it's

not a world record. I have to baltion should do rather than lay out a ance at least 9 or 10 balls. I want to strategy, which be could ant do

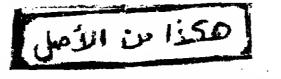
struggling for the oational award. I got state awards last year." .

When told that his rice calligrapby had been omitted this year. Mr. Syal churned through his wellthumbed copy of the new edition, muttering to himself. Mollified

somewhat by his citation for coin balancing, he quickly told of his new exploit. "I bave balanced six tennis balls

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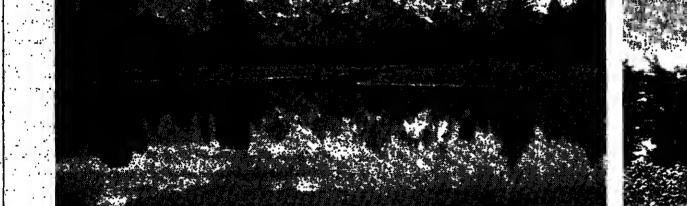
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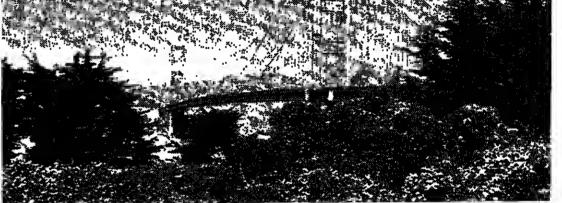


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International Herald Tribune Tuesday, November 9, 1993 Page 10

Style

### Lighting a Way Forward? A Reflective Karan, and Purity by Klein

spirit of Klein's collection.

By Suzy Menkes International Herald Tribune

EW YORK - Like glowworms in the dark, 400 lamps illuminated the fashion tent. The beams lighted up a phosphorescent silver shape on the runway. Was this fashion's future? Space-age style for the next century? Or just the latest line in silver rainwear from Donna Karan?

The opening of Karan's show made a symbolic ending to the New York fashion shows and to the sixweek international spring-summer 1994 season. For with or without a handout of a headlamp, the pros have been groping for fashion's way ahead. Karan showed clean modern clothes in futuristic reflective fabrics and Calvin Klein made the hest of pure and spare, yet New York did not supply the juice for fashion's forward thrust.

Yet at least American designers did not look hack. The costumeparty clothes, with echoes of Victoriana or hippies. had heen eleaned right out of the shows apart for a few ruched sleeves, Mozart jackets and cavalier shirts in Richard Tyler's collection. But what did that leave? Clothes that were hare, spare and hardly there.

If you want minimalism with a light touch, Calvin Klein did that very well. He brought to fairly familiar clothes a troika of ideas; an airy lightness, a reflored sense of color and contrasting textures. The clothes too came in threes, for the concept of the collection was layering. A typical outfit would have two tank-tops under a long jacket and a hrief flippy skirt, so that layers of hems would overlap in one, two, three, four waves from hip to thigh.

Subtle colorings meant mixing ivory, shell and hlush pinks - what Klein called "face-powder colors" at the party he gave the evening of his show at the downtown Odeoo restaurant. A more graphie combination. highlighting the layers, was black and white — say a white slip dress over a hlack tank too.

Textures too had the subtlest variations: slithering satin with wispy chiffon, faint flower prints or gossamer knits. The doubling or trehling of layers made sheer bearable and wearable. And the colors and textures preveoted the show from being so plaio it hurt.

The oobility of the dress was also nart of Klein's forceful statement.

with movement at the bern. There the show, the knits could have been were more short skirts than long, the start of something strong. But the start of something strong. But hut never short and ught. The co-existence of different hem lengths the short-sleeved striped polo shirts worn with haggy high-waist "Marx is the American way. Brothers" pants just petered out. Klein's show emphasized anoth-

The final passage had some energy. For jackets, tops and even the New York message: the eliding wedding dress were made out of of day and evening clothes. Al night soft creamy knuts warmed up metal discs stamped from Coca-Cola cans - a witty and sparky light layers - part of the modern take on fashion's recycling trend. Ecology is in the air - and it

#### NEW YORK FASHION

the new millennium, because we have to go forward, not hackward." said an emotional Donna Karan after her show, which led to the first hitch in an otherwise successclothes had a charm in New York's ful fashion season under canvas. Leading press and store presidents were locked out of the show by zealous security guards.

ARAN'S show opened dramatically with the reflective fabrics - an lists on New York's gridlocked streets. Although there may be few potential customers who want to glow in the dark, it set the tone.

The sleek separates were fine. hut not really so forward-looking. for fashion rocketed off 25 years ago on this same space-age route with Cardin and Courreges. The new fabric updated the look for the 1990s, hut it was still based on a Star Trek image of a silver bodysuit and short A-line skirt under sweeping coat. Karan also showed long skirts split at the sides and body-

skimming dresses. Shimmering silver included silver lurex knitwear. The same color palette hrought gentler tones of smoke and fog that drifted round the body in chiffon at night. Lightness as well as shine was Karan's message and that gave her fashion futurism poetry and romance.

Isaac Mizrahi's show could have used bad taste, kitsch, sex or seduction - anything to lighteo the parade of nice wearable clothes without any sort of twist. A commercial fashion show is like decaffeinated coffee. It may he what everybody needs, hut where's the kick?

Mizrahi sent out unmemorable suits in Prince-of-Wales checks; nice navy jackets with short schoolgirl-pleated skirts. He played with striped koits in primary colors that were a shock after the quiet shades It came either calf-length or short oo other runways. Like so much of

sure was on the runway of the Cuban designer Manolo, whose Nerewith verdigris hand-painted hustiers and fronds of skirt ap-peared to have been scraped off the ocean floor 10 walk his green-plank runway. The fashion-for-art's-sake

commercial clothing business, and they showed loving craftsmanship. In a season when minimalism ruled the runways, enter a decorator. Californian-based Richard Tyler made sportswear with a flourish, adding ruched sleeves like festoon hlinds to a plain jacket or sending a cascade of ruffles spilling over the chest under a curved riding coat. This dandified look had as a base Tyler's well-tailored jackets that would come out simply with a pattern of broken stripes. Frock coats were light and airy and given a modern spin with flippy short skirts underneath. But Tyler's ideas-from-the-attic looked like a reprise of the winter season. His light dresses in faggoted white cotton and micro-minikilts were in

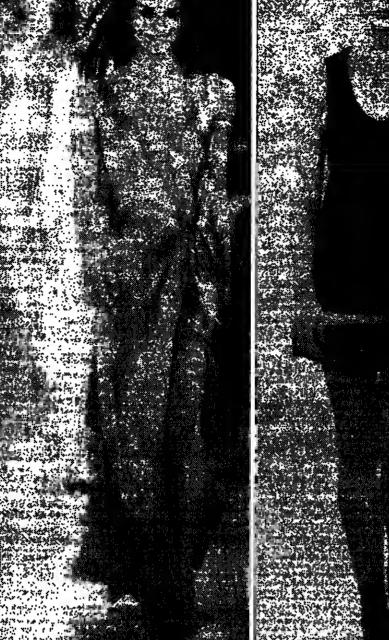
the Lolita spirit that eavorted through the New York shows. Lingerie lingers on in fashion as hahy-doll nighties and slip-dresses meant for public view. Fernando Sanchez took underwear back to the boudoir, hut the lingerie designer made his hathrobes and pa-jamas look more solid and stolid than current ethereal fashions.

> N a city where the personal trainer is the new hero, highvoltage sportswear is fast fashion. Norma Kamali start-

ed her show with real gymnasts working out in sporty sweats that made fashionable pieces. But Kamali's real strength is in her seductive hias-cut dresses sliding effortlessly across the well-honed body. Zoran, the master of minimal-

ism, did what he has always done and other designers now aspire to: simple, graceful, luxurious clothes that whisper rather than shout. with the focus on fahrics. Before his tiny show got going, Zoran un-veiled his outfits in shades of natural, white and cream, and silken cloud grays, in the windows of

Henri Bendel on Fifth Avenue.



Karan's satin split-dress, left; Klein's tank tops and short flippy skirt; Mizrahi's "Marx Brothers" pants, top, and Tyler's ruffle-front shirt.

### Sharing Obsessions: The Zany World of Zines

By Eric Messinger New York Times Service

EW YORK - Welcome to the highly irregular world of zines, the magazine equivalent of public-access television.

While zine purists argue that only those publications of the most modest production values and meager circulations should be coosidered zines, others identify them

in style to have mainstream appeal. of aesthetic that's an anti-aesthet-Quarterly. This glossy zine says it his way through the streets and ic, a vague, unfocused anger. But others are simply ioformative, like the one about preserving eight-

Zines. The word itself is thought to have been popularized in the early 1980s hy Mike Gunderloy,

"approaches the diversities in art subways of Manhattan. and design, photography, the ma-lure direction of comic books, the

the sub-lifestyles of snowboarding, said John Marr, its creator. An intel-skateboarding and the music which been and playful satire of the cul-surrounds it all." Not the easiest ture of violence affects a kind of mix to make sense of. But true to its cheery "I can't get enough" perspec-name, Blur's images, generally tive, which some people will proba-

America includes the category "Mis-

arts journal focuses on artists whose

work and work spaces are on the edges of New York's mainstream, with a particular emphasis on the scene in the Williamshurg and

templates whether Brooklyn artists

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t Ha

Murder Can Be Fun. First pub-lished: March 1986. Price: \$1.50. art and culture surrounding them, Frequency, "Inegular and erratic."

track tapes. by their contents. "I can't say there's an agenda

the founding publisher of Fact-

### **Puts 1994 Right Into Your Pocket.**

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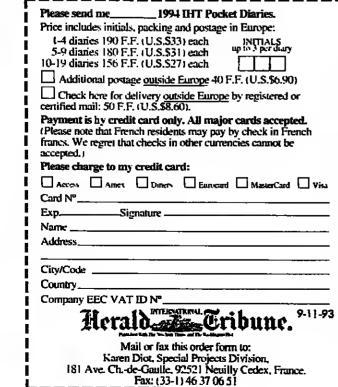
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trate discounts and personalization are ble. For details, fax Karen Diot at (33-1) 46 37 06 51.



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was another metaphor about modern American fashion: the customer now calls the shots, and American designers' motto seems to be "If the public won't buy it. doo't try it."

"Did you get the message --- the

public saw it first!" said Zoran. It

Typically the effort of one perthat connects them," said Terry son or a small group of like-minded Morello, the special-projects difriends operating on an evanescent rector at Exit Art/The First budget, zines are invariably too sin- World, an arts center in New York gular in theme or too idiosyncratic that sells zines. "Many have a kied

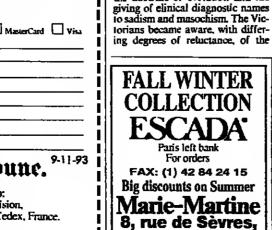
THE CULTIVATION OF HATRED:

The Bourgeois Experience Victoria to Freud, Vol. III By Peter Gav. 685 pages. \$30. Norton.

Reviewed by Christopher Hitchens

VIRTUAL reality notwithstand-V ing the founding paternity of the modern world is still that of Marx, Darwin, Freud and Einstein. The late 19th century was innocent of the revolutionary cosmology of Einstein hut experienced challenges to its worldview that were, in their implications, hardly less disturbing. Just as Lytton Strachey, in "Eminent Victorians," sought to show the play of ego and superego and even of ic on the hallowed bishops, generals, schoolmasters and pietistic reformers of a deceptively stable era. so Peter Gay — in this third volume of his trilogy. "The Bourgeois Expe-

rience" - tries to illustrate the premonitions of the coming age through the travails and traumas of a preceding one. He strives with great success to avoid the historians' trap once finely summarized by E.P. Thompson as "the massive condescension of posterity." Through him, the denizens of the period are given their own voice. There is a superfluous melodra-ma about the utle. A more accurate name for the book might be "The Attempted Domestication of Hatred," as the Christian nations of Western Europe attempted to reconcile their organic traditions with unsettling new revelations. Among these revelations were mechanization. modern warfare. colonialism. the doctrine of evolution and the



Paris 6th



Wolfsburg, Germany, is reading "Danger in the Comfort Zone" by Judith M. Bardwick. "It helps reduce fears in the work place and has some clear directives for those in charge. Basically, it's a plea for more respect among indi-

viduals and toward those in charge at the work place." (Michael Kallenbach, IHT)

potential for violence and cruelty mation." Newly aware of the power contained within the family, within of the unconscious, and uneasily the psyche and within the hitherto knowledgeable about the relation-God-given arrangement of the so-ship between sexuality and aggres-cial hierarchy. By good fortune, sion, the high Victorian hulders this was a time of many literate and polymathic people — the last great William James called "the moral stand of the humanist all-rounder equivalent of war." The tough and before the time of the expert and the tender, in this calculus, became the specialisi — so that solid testi-mony is both rich and various. opposites rather than relations, and the repression of the tender found the repression of the tender found

At first examination, the teachits issue in great gouts of sentimen tality about orphans, about ani-mals, about heroes and heroines ings of Charles Darwin, Adam Smith and the Reverend Malthus but seldom if ever about "lesser appeared to license the view that hreeds" or the "weaker sex." In a some principle of "kill or be killed" teachings of the New Testament, that rather than oppose the grue-Victorian hypocrisy thus arose some and futile practice of ritual from the necessary contradiction of continuing to exploit labor and to exclusion from the dueling clubs by colonize foreigners, while maintaining that it was all for their own striving to be admitted or even by good. Gav's miniatures are esse- forming their own.

good. Gay's miniatures are espe-cially excellent here: He shows the Victorian addiction to capital and corporate punishment, and to cold ment. August 1914 was the almost utilitarianism in the prison system. orgasmic culmination of an age of to be based on the same sinister amhition and fierce continence claim offered hy the stern chastiser Having tried for the moral equiva-who told the victim: "This hurts me lent of war, in externalized advenmore than it hurts you." tures directed at the colonial sub-To take one example that Gay jects and the natural world, the ucceeds in making emblematic, we tight-lipped and highly evolved civiucceeds in making emplematic, we

find Otto von Bismarck intervening in the German parliamentary de-bale on capital punishment. Bis-marck's point was that the state and the society must be willing to take if a nither society must be willing to take the society must be willing to take lizations of England, France and life without overmuch compunction, Perhaps. Gay seems to argue, if because otherwise the sickly and the "effeminate" would prevail, and the saturnalia before, there might have nation could not light to build and been less orgiastic hatred and mur-surengthen itself. This grand meta-phorical portrait, one of Gay's fin-other than the 19th.

tween social Darwinism, the military ethic and the macho theto-Christopher Hitchens, who writes ric of the nation-state. for Vanity Fair and The Nation, 29...Re2? in view of 30 Ra31 Be5 31 wrote this for The Washington Post. Ra7 Nf6 (or 31...Ke8 32 Ra8) 32 The keyword is probably "suhli-

est, shows the latent connection be-

sheet Five, a zine that has evolved into the premier zine review. "He was seeing scientific fan-zines, like 'Star Trek' stuff, music

fanzines from the punk scene and lots of amateur press stuff, so the phrase basically was his way of describing all these publications coming across his life," said R. Seth Friedman, the current publisher. Friedman estimates that the oumber of zines in the United States has increased over the past decade to about 20,000 from 5,000, ing the last two years. Indeed, at - On magazine shelves. with a particularly large surge durmany independent bookstores they seem to be metastasizing on maga-

zine shelves. zines:

• Animal Review. First pub-lished: February. Price: \$2. Frequeney: Every three months. Though it describes itself as the "fanzine of herbivorous youth," there's no apparent reason why carnivores of any age wouldn't like this quirky guide. Essays on "maebo animals," zoo reviews, paeans to pets: If it has to do with animals it can be found here (So animals, it can be found here. (So can the stray music review.) High-light: A segment called "Gecko 0. & A.

• Blur. First published: February 1992. Price: \$7. Frequency:

By Robert Byrne

I Timman's play in the first half of his Internacional Chess Federa-

tion ehampionship match with An-atoly Karpov has been the end-

game: when it is favorable for him, he does nothing more than draw; when it is uofavorable, he loses.

For example, the Dutchman lost

Game I with mistakes in the ending and here, in Game 10, played in September in Amsterdam, he re-

It is questionable whether Tim-

Initially, Timman handled the endgame well. His defense against 20 Ra3 with 20...ed 21 ed b5! 22

Ra7 BI5 was excellent because

Karpov had to give back the sacri-fied pawn. After 23 Rd1 Ra8 24

Ra8 Ra8 25 Kel Ra2, Karpov had

a passed d5 pawn, which he turned

into a threat at once with 26 d6, yet

On 28 Bd3!? Bd3 29 Rd3, Tim-

man dared not capture with

the hlack pieces were active.

مكذا من الأمل

peated the flaw.

HE main hindrance in Jan

quite striking, tend to be shot in bly find distasteful. But given the soft focus, and words are often su-abiquity of graduitous violence in perimposed on the imagery, mak-ing for challenging reading. High well, right on target. Highlight: An light: An interview with Kent article about the history of rioting in

to be metastasizing

ine shelves. Here is a sampling of the current Kent Williams? Recarse he is one study of the current Williams? Recarse he is one study of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the current the subjects range from the aesthetics of the current the subjects range from the aesthetics aesthetics at the subjects range from the aesthetics at t

of the nicest people I've ever Highlight: An art review that conworked with." • Fools Paradise. First pub-lished: April. Price: \$1. Frequent ture" by "exploiting electronic cy: "As often as I can," said Jo- networking amid a poetic environ-seph Dunlap, its creator. An ment of post-industrial rain." example of a large subgroup of • Publicsfear. First published: zines known as "mini-comix" or September 1992. Price: \$6.50 Fre- Publicsfear. First published:
 September 1992. Price: \$6.50 Fre-"minis," this modest pamphlet hy Dunlap includes comics about a

quency: Twice a year. A journal of ideas, with a rather fuzzy purview. mad scientist cockroach, a self-obsessed fashion vietim and a chodrama" of living in Australia to homeless man. Highlight: A series of pictures without any text, "Un-derground" poignantly captures the daily cycle of hardship of its

homeless protagonist as he makes constructions of Madonna.

and the second

from penetrating by setting up

After 48...b5, Karpov broke the

blockade of his pawn by 49 Rh8 KI7 50 Rd8, Timman could not

play 50...Nb6 because of 51 Rf8 Kg7 52 Rb8 Nd7 53 Rb7 Nf8 54 Bf6 Kg8 55 Ne7 Kh7 56 Ng6 Kg8 57 Rg7 mate. And be could not play 50...Ne5 because 51 Ne5 Be5 52 Rf8 Kg7 53 Rf61 Bf6 54 Bf6 Kf7

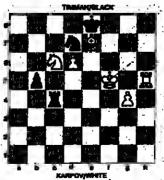
55 d7 wins easily. He tried setting one last trap with 50...Be5, so that 51 Rd7? per-mits 51...Rf4 mate, After Karpov's

51 Ne5 Ne5 52 Rf8 Kg7 53 g5!.

however, Timman gave up.

checks from the rear.

CHESS

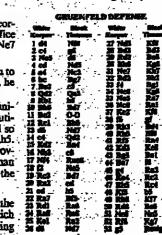


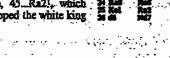
man should have used the Gruen-feld Defense, 3...d5. Karpov favors a quiet hranch of the Exchange Variatioo with 7 Be3 c5 8 Qd2, d7, which wins a piece. But he cor-rectly accepted Karpov's sacrifice with 29...Be5 30 Bb6 Kg8 31 Ne7 which tends to devolve into a quiet endgame. In this game, the ex-change of queens with 14...Qd2 15 Kd2 fit Karpov's requirements. Kh7 32 Bd2 Bh2

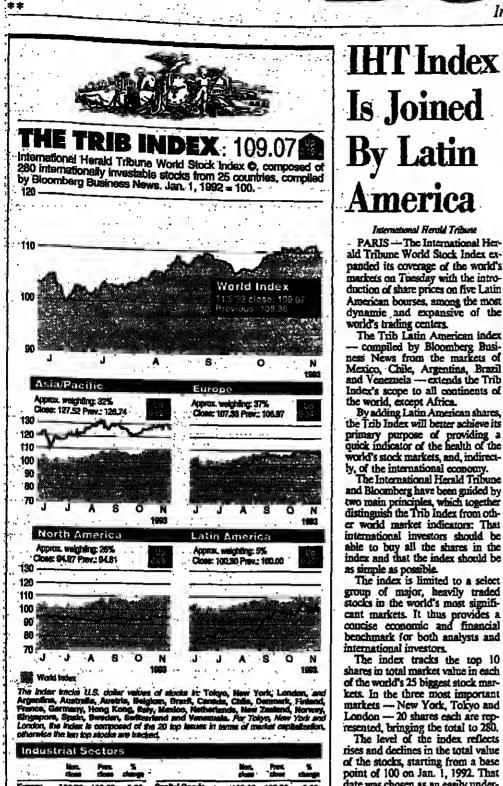
Position after 41 .... bi

But after 33 14. Timman began to go wrong. Instead of 33...Bg[?!, he should have played 33...h4! should have played 33...h4! Karpov soon had the opportuni-ty to hring his heretofore underuui-lized rook to the attack and did so after 38 fe! gf 39 Rh3! Bd4 40 Rh5. After 40...Bf6 41 Rf5, he had recov-the had done nothing to diminish the had done nothing to diminish the latent threat of the d6 pawn. 2 Ref. 2 Re ered his pawn, whereas Timman had done nothing to diminish the latent threat of the d6 pawn.

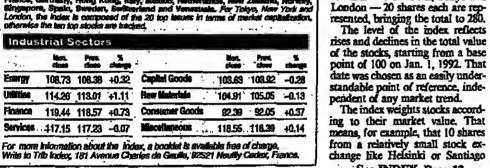
After 45 g4, Timman missed the correct defense, 45...Ra21, which 34 Rad would have stopped the white king 35 cf

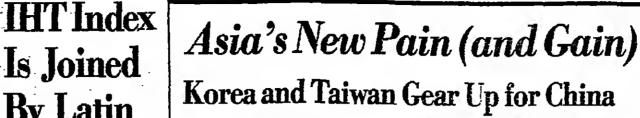






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#### By Paul Blustein Washington Past Service

International Herald Tribune, Tuesday, November 9, 1993

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PUSAN, South Korea - The worldwide crossborder competition for jobs struck home last month in this hub of the South Korean shoe industry, idling 3,500 workers at the Tae Gwang Ruhber factory, which made Nike shoes. Nearby stands another victim, the empty Kukje

Corp. plant. Once the world's higgest shoe factory.

For both South Korea and Taiwan.

the economic benefits of expanded

The Trib Latin American index relations with Beijing clearly - compiled by Bloomberg Busi-

ness News from the markets of outweigh the costs. Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela - extends the Trib

Is Joined

**By Latin** 

America

PARIS - The International Her-

ald Tribune World Stock Index ex-

panded its coverage of the world's

markets on Tuesday with the intro-

duction of share prices on five Latin

American bourses, among the most

dynamic and expansive of the

Index's scope to all continents of

By adding Latin American shares, the Trib Index will better achieve its

primary purpose of providing a quick indicator of the health of the

world's stock markets, and, indirect-

ly, of the international economy. The International Herald Tribune

and Bloomberg have been guided by

er world market indicators: That

index and that the index should be

The index is limited to a select

benchmark for both analysis and

The index tracks the top 10

shares in total market value in each

of the world's 25 biggest stock mar-

kets. In the three most important

as simple as possible.

international investors.

world's trading centers.

the world, except Africa.

employing as many as 20,000 workers, it is to be turned into apartments.

Factories such as these have shut down all across South Korea - as well as in Taiwan - because of competition for jobs from neighboring countries with much lower wages, especially China. As Taiwan and South Korea, once low-wage

countries, open up trade and investment links with China, hundreds of thousands of johs have vanished over the past three years in such industries as shoes, apparel and toys. But a closer look offers a very different lesson

about the effects of free trade.

The South Korean and Taiwanese economies are being transformed to more advanced industrial bases, spurred in part by a surge in exports to China. For both nations, the economic benefits of expanded relations with Beijing clearly outweigh

the costs, showing now free trade can help speed economic development and raise living standards. The industries losing investment and jobs to China require large numbers of workers doing routine tasks. In those areas, companies can gain a significant advantage by paying wages one-fifth to one-tenth of those it. South Korea or Taiwan.

But the explosive growth of China's economy is stoking demand for Kerean and Taiwanese products that involve higher technology and heavier industry, such as steel, machinery, petrochemicals and autos. The Chinese have been snapping up 20 percent of South Korea's auto exports in recent months

Add in the continuing advances that South Ko-rean and Taiwanese electronics companies are making in such item; as memory chips and notebook computers, and the result is a major spur to oh creation, especially in the fast-growing service industries, including financial services, retailing, transportation and construction.

South Koreans and Taiwanese are moving so fast into newly created jobs that the lost jobs harely register in the unemployment statistics. In South Korea, the jobless rate is 2.6 percent; in Taiwan, it is 1.4 percent.

Nicholas Kwan, senior economist at Merrill Lynch Asia Pacific Ltd. in Hong Kong, said: "People are moving from dirty-hand work to skilled hand work. This is what drives the region's growth."

As an example of how trade among Asian neighbors is helping everyone, take the case of SunStar Sewing Machine Co., based in Seoul. Since the late 1980s, its exports of sewing ma-

See ASIA, Page 13

### Akzo to Acquire Nobel, Forming **Chemicals** Titan

Compiles in Our Staff From Dispatches billion guilders (\$10.5 billion) and will employ over 75,000 people. In AMSTERDAM - Akzo NV. size and significance, it will rival the Dutch maker of products rang-Britain's Imperial Chemical Indus-tries PLC, Hoechst AG and BASF ing from airbag fibers to contraceptives, and Nobel Industrier AE, the AG of Germany, and France's Swedish company synonymous Rhone-Poulenc SA. with dynamite and peace prizes. announced Monday they would executives said the combined comcombine forces to create one of the world's largest chemicals compapany would reshape competition in

the European chemicals industry and would prohably be followed by Under the terms of the takeover. other linkups in a sector belea-Akzo will pay a total of 14 hillion kronor (\$1.7 hillion) for an 80 perguered hy dropping sales, low volune and restrictive regulation. Under the deal, Nobel sharecent stake in Nobel. Some analysts said that Akzo

was paying a high price for Nobel, which is only one-third its size, and holders will be able in either accept a cash payment of 26.5 kronor for each Nobel share or trade 57 Nobel that the deal, which would create shares for two Akzo shares. Nobel the world's largest producer of paints and coatings, would entail considerable overlap in the two shares were last traded at about 27 kronor. Akzo said it would issue 1.3 hil-

Akzo's share price fell 12.10 guillion guilders in new shares to finance the merger, causing analysts ders (\$1.90) to 185.10 guilders on to worry about earnings dilution. the Amsterdam Stock Exchange. "In terms of products, Akzo is Trading was suspended in Stock-holm last Tuesday in Nooel shares essentially getting more of the same and you have to ask yourself if it is

Analysis and chemical company

Page 11

necessary to pay such a large pre-mium," said Peter Schouten, an an-The new company, which will be named Akzo Nobel, will have comalyst with CLN Oyens & Van Eeghen in Amsterdam. hined annual sales of more than 20

Aarnout Loudon, chairman of Akzo who will become the first chairman of Akzo Nobel, said that 60 percent of the activities of the two companies overlap and that "90 percent fits very well," About two-thirds of Akzo Nobel's operations are in Europe with 20 percent in the United States and with a sizable presence in the Far East. Some critics of the merger said it would increase Akzo's dependence on the European market rather

than expand sales in North America and Asia. "I would have liked Akzo to

grow more international rather than slightly less international." said Tony Cox, an analyst with Kleinwort Benson in London.

Analysts said Nobel would add strength to Akzo in the production of chemicals for the paper industry. an area that Akzo currently lacks. Nobel produces hleaching agents in North America, where 50 percent of the world's paper pulp is produced.

Twenty percent of Akzo Nobel will be controlled by Securum AB, a Swedish government holding company which acquired more than 70 percent of Nobel's shares as part of a 1991 bailout of the

#### See AKZO, Page 13

**U.S. Has Real Reasons to Pass NAFTA** 

## EC Cites U.S. 'Disinformation' on Trade

By Tom Buerkle onal Herald Tribune BRUSSELS - The European

Community, seeking to bridge its markets - New York, Tokyo and internal differences on trade and put the United States on the defensive, blamed Washington on Monday for stalling the global trade talks. The EC trade commissioner, Sir

Leon Brittan, dismissed American criticism of Europe's trade stance as a "disinformation campaign." He told a meeting of EC foreign

The index weights stocks accordministers here that the United States, along with Japan and Canaing to their market value. That were "still dragging their feet" failing to respond to an EC means, for example, that 10 shares by from a relatively small stock expackage of tariff cuts offered as us. General Agreement on Tariffs and change like Helsinki or Santiago See INDEX, Page 12 Trade in Geneva.

The United States immediately rejected the assertion. Stuart E. Eizenstat, the U.S. ambassador to the Community, said the American of-fer of tariff cuts was bigger than

Europe's or Japan's. "We want to correct misinformation but we do not want to engage in verbal ducking across the Atlan-" he said. tic. The U.S. ambassador to Britain, Raymond G. H. Seitz, warned in ondon on Monday that failure to achieve a new world trade treaty by a mid-December deadline could lead to a reduced U.S. military

commitment to Europe, Reuters reported. If U.S.-EC differences prevent a GATT accord, he said, "it will be more difficult in Congress to say that while trading relationships with Europe have taken a tumble. nevertheless we should spend 'x' amount of our defense budget on a substantial military presence on the

Continent." The exchanges made it clear that it-or-leave-it GATT offer of despite a series of high-level meet- eve of the Dec. 15 deadline.

ings in recent months, both sides remain far from an agreement with a little more than a month left in the seven-year-old negotiations. Sir Leon said the Clinton administration was too preoccupied in its

attempt to win Congressional ap-proval of the North American Free Trade Agreement to negotiate actively in the GATT talks. He said be would go to Washington for talks with the U.S. trade representative. Mickey Kantor, during the week of Nov. 22, after the Nov, 17 vote on the North American trade pact in the House of Representatives.

The EC foreign ministers, pressed hard by France, urged the United States to make fresh concessions to bring about a draft GATT accord the end of November. They by agreed to hold an extraordinary ministerial meeting, most likely on Doc. 2, to review the trade talks. French officials said they were anxious to avoid the risk that

Washington would present a take-it-or-leave-it GATT offer on the weeks.

"A trap is being placed around the EC," Foreign Minister Alain Juppe of France said, according to EC sources at the meeting, "We want to avoid last-minute negotia-

as the negotiations on a merger

companies.

gained momentum.

tions," be added. Mr. Eizenstat said the GATT negotiations were too complex to be resolved at the last minute and urged Europe and other trading

partners to build confidence by helping to wrap up work on indi-vidual sectors like financial services and public procurement. "We do not want to have a crush of issues come crashing down on everybody in the last few hours," he said.

He also denied that Washington was bamstrung hy the NAFTA dehate. President Bill Clinton stressed over the weekend that he regarded both trade agreements as essential, Mr. Eizenstat noted, and the United States has made fresh offers on both financial services and public procurement in the GATT talks in the past three

By Reginald Dale International Revold Tribine

**Thinking Ahead** 

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TASHINGTON - If foreigners are against it, it must be good for the United States - so Americans should be for it. That anyone should seriously advance such a proposition is a depressing confirmation of the inward-looking state of America today.

It is even more depressing when the pur-veyor of such chauvinistic twaddle is the president of the United States. And yet that is the logic that Bill Clinton has espoused in calling on Americans to back the North American Free Trade Agreement: on the grounds that the Japanese and the Europeans do not like it. If the U.S. Congress votes down NAFTA

next week, Japanese companies will swarm over Mexico "like flies on a June bug," as Mr. Clinton puts it, and set up a threatening beachhead in America's back yard. NAFTA must be approved to thwart their simister plans.

The point is rammed home by Lee A. Iacocca in pro-NAFTA TV advertisements in which he earnestly states that the Japanese think the accord is a "bad deal" because it is good for America and bad for Japan.

The fact of the matter is that not one of America's allies wants NAFTA to fail. They all want a prosperous, free trading America. The agreement's opponents are not outside but inside the United States.

but inside the United States. It should be evident that most European and Japanese companies will be much more interested in investing in Mexico if NAFTA is passed, so they can gain free access to the U.S. market. For Mexico, that is one of the agreement's main attractions.

· · ·

European Community are praying that NAFTA will go through has nothing to do with the Mexican market. It is because they fear the whole move to freer world trade will begin to unravel if NAFTA goes down. And first at risk would be the Uruguay Round, due to be completed and sent to the U.S. Congress less than a month after the NAFTA

America's trading partners - France in particular - will hardly feel more inclined to

The fact of the matter is that not one of America's allies wants NAFTA to fail. They all want a prosperous, free-trading America. The agreement's

#### opponents are not outside but inside the United States.

make politically difficult sacrifices to secure success in the Uruguay Round if the U.S. Congress votes down NAFTA, a move that might suggest it is in no mood to pass further

free-trade legislation. But the most anxious spectator of all is Latin America, which now sees NAFTA as pioneering an eventual hemisphere-wide free trade area that would underpin the continent's recent remarkable economic gains.

If the United States abandons its role as world champion of the free-market cause, to which Latin America has so lately become a convert, Latin Americans warn they will look elsewhere for leadership and markets.

Of course that is easier said than done. The United States will remain the dominant economic and political force in the hemisphere even if NAFTA fails. But there is no reason to doubt the Chilean finance minister, Alejandro Foxley, when he warns that "there will be very deep resentment and a lot of damage throughout the region" if NAFTA goes down.

Nor can there be much doubt that the still fragile flowering of free markets and democ-racy in the hemisphere will be severely weak-ened if the United States turns its back on Latin America by voting against NAFTA. The risk is of a relapse into protectionism, poverty, anti-Americanism and dictatorship. That would be bad for the United States as well as for Latin America, now one of the United States' growing export markets.

It is too much to hope that these points will weigh much with a U.S. Congress that is influenced almost exclusively by local consid-erations. But it should be obvious even to the most chauvinistic dichard that it is in the interest of all Americans that the rest of their hemisphere be prosperous and democratic. If he wants to internationalize the issue, Mr. Clinton should stop gratuitously bashing the Japanese and start extolling the virtues of having richer neighbors.

Outside America, the fear is that if he fails the will send a message around the world that it is politically suicidal to espouse free trade. That would not just be bad for America, it would be a "bad deal" for everyone else, too.

Nov. 8

### Celltech Refuels Europe's Biotech Dream

By Erik Ipsen mal Herald Tribune

SLOUGH, England - At the ripe old age of 13, Celluch Group PLC, the British biotech nology company, has yet to sell its first invention, but hopes to have greater success with its first public share offering.

"It has taken them an awfully long time to get where they have gotten to," said Robin Gilbert, an analyst with the brokerage Pannure

The embarrassing thing for Celltech - and for the European hiotech industry as a whole is not only just how long it has taken but how little the industry has to show for its efforts and expenditures.

In the United States, biotech companies raised nearly \$4 hillion in the early 1990s to fund research and development. Several of them now have products with sales of \$100 million or more a year. In Europe, meanwhile, biotech concerns are

still struggling to huild momentum. Celltech's initial offering is expected to make

it the largest biotech company in Europe by adding a mere £30 million (\$45 million) to a capital base estimated at about £160 million. "European scientists have been slower, shall

we say, to capitalize on their inventions." said Ian Smith, an analyst with Lehman Brothers. But Mr. Smith and others say that the spate of recent share offerings by hiotech tirms in

Britain may turn things around by allowing them to secure long-sought cash — and much- of Europe's largest drug makers. needed inspiration.

Celltech, one of the oldest of Europe's biotech companies, is an example of both what was wrong with the industry from the start and why a turnaround may be imminent.

Peter Fellner. Celltech's chief executive, said. "This company's history, to say the least has been a little turbulent and idiosyncratic."

Founded in 1980 with financial help from the

Celltech is an example of both what was wrong with the industry from the start and why a turnaround may be imminent.

government. Celltech hired scores of highly trained experts. fitted out state-of-the-art laboratories and kicked off a series of pioneering research projects.

But almost all of projects went nowhere. Three years ago. Celltech's private shareholders lost patience and took a broom to the company's executive suite. Out went the top tier of management and in came Mr. Fellner and his

The new managers wrenched the company's focus away from pure science toward pure profit.

These days, Celltech executives are concentrating on such diseases as rheumatoid arthritis, with 5 million sufferers worldwide, and septic shock patients, 40 percent of whom die within four weeks.

Celltech's seven research projects are boning in on these and other hig diseases — all with a steady eye on profit.

Mr. Feliner said: "Until the current group of us arrived, there was a lot of interest in the technology the company was in. But there wasn't much emphasis on selecting and developing drugs with high commercial potential." Analysis say this thinking is a sign that the biotech industry in Europe is heading toward maturity.

Mr. Feliner and his team appear to have less interest in working on relatively rare diseases, or on such conditions as hypertension for which a dozen or more drugs already exist. Instead, they are focusing on ailments for which no

treatment has been invented. Part of this shift in a commercial approach reflects the defensiveness that has swept the health-care industry in recent months as fears

See BIOTECH, Page 13



#### **CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES**

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	6.00	590	Source: Reu	ders.		
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#### NEW YORK - Spectrum Information Technologies Inc., the high-technology company that re-cently hired John Sculley, the former Apple Computer Inc. chief, as its chairman, said Monday that its founder and several other top execbilling and several other up exce-billing and several other up exce-president of cellular marketing, both quit. Katherine Bachand, director of investor relations, primed Spec-5 % 5 % 5 % 5 % investor relations, resigned. Spec-trum said the three left voluntarily. The company also said it appointed Christopher P. Franco as vice president and general counsel. The wireless data company also announced a \$1.5 million settlement of a shareholder lawsuit related to a In May, spectrum described a contract with American Telephone & Telegraph Co. as worth hundreds of millions of dollars, sending its Chige - 225 stock soaring. But AT&T later sug-gested that the comment had been -210 -238

stock plunged.

#### Page 12

**MARKET DIARY** 

The Dow Jones industrial aver-

age was up 4.47 points at 3,647.90

N.Y. Stocks

in late trading, although the market

3.660.75.

4-3 on the Big Board.

**Share Prices Advance** 

**As Inflation Fears Slip** 

#### INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1993

EUROPEAN FUTURES

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Daily closings of the Dow Jones Industrial average

Dow Jones Averages

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**NYSE Indexes** 

NASDAQ Indexes

AMEX Stock Index

Trons Util

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Dow Jones Bond Average

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### Paramount in Bidding for Macmillan

NEW YORK (Bloomberg) - Paramount Communications Inc., the NEW YORK (Bloomberg) — Paramount Communications inc., the object of a takeover battle between QVC Network Inc. and Viacom Inc. is one of the final four bidders for the Macmillan publishing unit of Maxwell Communications Corp., an executive close to the bidding

Contrined. Offers for Macmillan, due by 5 P.M. Tuesday, are expected to exceed \$500 million. The executive, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said that the winner would be announced by Wednesday afternoon.

BankAmerica to Sell Property Loans

SAN FRANCISCO (Bloomberg) - BankAmerica Corp. said Monday it bad agreed to sell \$340 million of nonperforming commercial real estate loans to Whitehall Street Real Estate Limited Partnership III. It did not disclose the amount.

The bank holding company said it expected to report a gain on the sale.

NEW YORK (Reuters) --- The National Writers Union said Monday that it was preparing a lawsuit against some of the country's biggest newspapers and computer information services to determine if a writer should be paid when his or her story is read or reproduced from electronic.

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The United States will inform Japan on Tuesday of its "grave concern" over possible moves in Tokye to roll back copyright protection for computer software, a senior U.S. official said. The deputy U.S. trade representative, Charlene Barshefsky, told the subcommitte on trade of the Senate Finance Committee that a letter

Motorola Inc.'s Costomer-Owned Paging Operation said that it and ServiceAlert, a Boulder, Colorado-based manufactorer, had introduced asytem that would allow restaurant patrons to summon their servers by (UPI)

4. "Jaboato S. "Cool Rum S. "The Bave 7. "Rudy" 8. "Molice" 9. "Demolitie 16. "Fotal Inst

Oil Industry Estimates Cleanup Costs CHICAGO (Bloomberg) — The American oil industry may have to spend \$33 billion by the year 2000 to comply with environmental rules, a study by the American Petroleum Institute has found. The industry currently spends about \$8 billion a year to comply with regulations limiting emissions of pollutants into the air, water and ground, the institute said.

Lawsuit to Involve On-Line Services

services.

Spokesmen for the 4,000-member union declined to name the compa-nies to be sued.

U.S. to Press Japan on Software Issue

would be sent to the Japanese government calling for consultations on the issue. "There is grave concern," she said.

#### For the Record

Walt Disney Co. is planning a major theme park in Virginia to compete with Kings Dominion, Paramount Communications Inc.'s park near Richmond, a published report said Monday. pressing a button built into a sugar, salt and pepper caddy.

#### Weekend Box Office

The Associated Press LOS ANGELES - Tim Burton's "The Nightmare Before Christmas" opped the U.S. box office again last weekend. Following are the Top 10. moneymakers based on Friday ticket sales and estimated sales for Saturday and Sunday. 1. "Nightmore 2. "Flesh and I 1. "Look Who's 4. "Roboced 3"

Before Christmas"	(Touchstone Pictures)	17.5 a
Bond"	[Paramount]	4.6 1
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h Man"	(Warner Brothers)	12.7 m
inct"	(Metro-Goldin Anaver)	12.2 m

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aurces: Reuters, Mattil, Association Int'l Financial Futures

Spot Commodities

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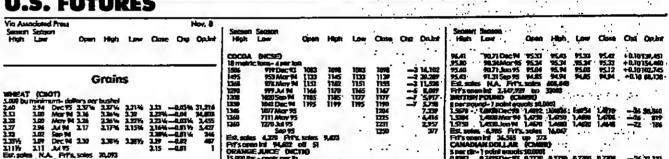
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Source: UPL

Est

#### Langer and the second s inti ins mas Bk Est, volume: 444, Open interest: 12 3-MONTH EUROAARKS (LIFFEI DMI Intificar pis of Vol pci Dec 71.66 71.02 71.05 Mar 94.57 94.53 44.54 Jun 95.21 95.26 95.36 Jun 95.27 95.26 95.37 Dec 95.22 95.17 95.16 Mar 95.10 95.20 95.17 95.16 Mar 95.10 95.20 95.37 Dec 95.22 95.17 95.16 Est, volume: 72.30, Open Interest: DAUG 61.7 10.15901 cripps-Hwrd Bdcs mithfield Cos maxie-laignd Inc d-A ach Fedi -convol: c-Canud LONIG GILT (LIFFE) 55,000 - pts & Zinds of 100 pct Dec 113-20 113-04 113-10 + 0-04 Mar 117-77 113-17 113-20 + 0-04 Est, volume: (4461). Down Interest: 105-202 ¥/ 4

### **U.S. FUTURES**



Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches suffered last week from fears about inflation and rising rates, was likely to he set by B report due Tuesday NEW YORK - U.S. stocks were broadly firmer on Monday as on producer prices in October and fears subsided that U.S. inflation was reheating or that the Federal the announcement on Wednesday Reserve Board would be lifting of October consumer prices. short-term rates any time soon.

sharply in late trading as speculation grew that the week's reports would show inflation steadying. The price of the benchmark 30-year bond rose 4/32 to 100 21/32.

Among the major gainers. Procter & Gamble rose 1 to 54%. was unable to sustain early gains that had lifted it to a high of Volume on the New York Stock and General Motors was 'a higher Exchange totaled 231 million at 48%. Oil stocks were lower as shares, down from 269 million Fn- crude oil prices weakened. Chevron

to 65. The tone of the marker, which

#### RJR Nat RJR pfP Merck TelMex NalMit 4 PorCam Philaw Interp AirRen s Svian **INDEX:** IHT Tra Continued from Page 11 GnAtoli Listvitd AT&T da have less impact on the index than appear on Page 1, with a full graph-10 shares from a major trading cenic and statistical report on the first page of the Business/Finance secter like Frankfurt. Share quotations used are simultion. Monday's Business/Finance section tracks the performance of taneously converted from local currencies to dollars when the regional the indexes over the previous week. and global indexes are calculated. Although anyone can huy shares at the latest available dollar rate. in the world's major markets, some

are;

In selecting 10 stocks per market the aim is in establish a representa-pore, still bar foreigners from huytive picture of each country's performance from the viewpoint of the international investor.

As most of the world's top 25 stock markets are in Europe, the method of selection gives Europe 140 out of the 280 stocks. But the relatively low total value of European shares produces B European weighting of only 37 percent of the index's total value.

The Asia/Pacific figure, of more than 32 percent from just five markets, reflects the relatively strong performance in Asian share prices since the launch of the index.

Of the leading industrial coun-tries, the United States accounts for approximately 24 percent of the value of the index. Others include Japan (26 percent), Britain (10 per-cent), Switzerland (7 percent), Germany (5 percent), France (4 per-cent), Hong Kong (4 percent), while Mexico, Canada and Australia are

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weighted at about 2 percent each. In addition to the Trib World Index. four regional subindexes track the performance of stocks in the Asia/Pacific region. Europe. North America and Latin America. The 280 stocks are also broken down into eight separate industrial groups as follows: Utilities (representing roughly 5 percent of the overall index), finance (32 percent), energy (9 percent), raw materials (5 percent), capital goods (9 percent), consumer goods (21 percent), services (17 percent) and miscella-

neous (2 percent). The daily Trib Index is pub-

Banaori; Cemex: Cifra; Femsa; GFB; GGEMEX; ICA; Telefonos de Mexico; Televisa; Ttolmex.

**Low-Inflation Scenario Depresses Dollar** 

"We've put together an impres-sive string of economic numbers lately, but there hasn't been any spite the signs of economic expan-lately. but there hasn't been any lately, but there hasn't been any

Suisse. October producer prices are park their funds in other currencies The dollar fell to 1.6852 Deutsche marks from 1.6945 on Friday As long as prices remain relatively stable, the Federal Reserve Board is from 1.4965 and to 5.8680 French Foreign Exchange

francs from 5.8885.

Close Prov 1187 914 400 2498 30 41 Cose Prev. 1157377

Mexico NASDAQ Diary

Venezuela Cer Carabobo; Corimon; Electricidad de Caracas; Madosa; Mantex; Mavessa; Sivensa; Sudantex; Vencemos; Venepol,

Eastman Kodak climbed 74 to 62 **NYSE Most Actives** day. Gainers ounnumbered losers fell 1/2 to 93% and Texaco eased 1/4 (Bloomberg, Reuters)

<b>Cks Latin Stocks</b> From Tuesday through Satur- y, the index's closing figure will	R JR Men Telá Wali Por Por
From Tuesday through Satur- y, the index's closing figure will	Myrk IBM GnA

ing certain shares. In order to make sure that all the stocks in the index can be freely bought and sold, stocks limited to local investors have been excluded.

The 50 Latin American stocks added Tuesday in the Trib Index

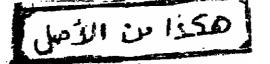
Argentina; YPF.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK — The dollar fell against most other major curren-cies Monday on speculation up-coming reports on producer and consumer prices would show inflation remained tame last month.

3800 U.S. Treasury bonds advanced 3500

/     	of the IHT. pressure on prices, said form ridge, sion. Relatively low U.S. rates give dence in the economy by business corporate currency adviser at Credit shon-term investors incentives to executives. (Bloomberg, AFP)	3400 by memory court 5 per 005 mil	Sperts. New 95 10:40 144.00 101.00 101.00 -3.25 202 John 107.25 107.40 104.50 101.55 -0.25 18.219 Mar 94 176.00 118.10 107.59 107.55 -0.25 18.219 Mar 94 176.00 118.10 107.59 -0.25 5.202 AN 94 114.90 114.90 114.90 111.55 -0.215 5.203 Step 94 114.40 114.40 114.40 112.55 -0.215 Step 94 114.40 114.40 114.00 112.55 -0.215 Nov 94	0.6383         0.74250 0.0750         0.7750         0.7750         0.7750         -26' 71,131           0.6171         0.7314 0.4574         0.7750         0.7671         0.760         -27'         1.787           0.7815         0.7314 0.4574         0.7760         0.757         0.781         0.767         -78         955           0.7670         0.7215500         0.7674         0.7674         0.7675         0.767         -27         344           0.7671         0.751500         0.7674         0.7605         0.7607         -00         713         0.751500         1.7615         0.7665         0.7667         -00         713         0.751500         0.7674         0.7665         0.7665         -00         713         0.751500         0.7674         0.7665         0.7665         -00         713         0.751500         0.7674         0.7665         -00         2         0.753         0.751500         0.7665         1.400         0.7665         -00         2         0.753         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515         0.7515 <td< th=""></td<>
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### Work-Hour Cut Backed In France

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New York Times Service

RZESZOW, Poland - When Gerber, the

American baby-food maker, bought a juice

plant in this out-of-the-way town in southern

Poland, it was considered a case study of how

a company should venture into the untried

territory of Eastern Europe. The price was

right, the local staff was happy and the mar-

ket potential a sheer dream: Polish babies

had never sampled the even consistency of

The \$25 million acquisition and invest-ment in an untapped market is still a success,

but nearly two years later, the hard part is just

beginning. Listen, for example, to Wanda Kujawa, a

never tried Gerber. My grandmother pre-pared my mother's baby food, who in turn prepared mine. I don't see why I should

change a trusted recipe that's been used for

Dr. Dorata Osinska, a pediatrician on the

outskirts of Warsaw: "In the larger cities, most mothers are familiar with Gerber, but

few can afford it. Even our hospital, which

recommends Gerber, is forced to make its

own baby food because it does not have the

budget to spend 50 cents a serving." Also, distributing the product from the

plant over treacherous roads in rickety vans

to cramped little stores is nothing like getting

"It's taken us a little longer to learn these things than we would have liked," Alfred A.

Piergallini, chief executive of Gerber Prod-

Taking Gerber, based in Fremont, Michi-

it to market in the United States.

ucts Co., said during a visit here.

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specially processed food from a jar.

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Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches PARIS - Desperate to boost employment, conservative lawmakers on Monday narrowly endorsed an experiment with a 32-hour work week, a step that they had long

ates Cleanne opposed. The Senate approved the mea-sure on a vote of 149 to 135, with Socialists and Communists voting ç against it because the reduction in work hours would be accompanied by an 8 percent pay cut.

Support for a shorter work week has been growing as the conservative government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur battles unemployment.

The experiment was endorsed by the Senate, or upper house, in an amendment to a government jobs bill. The Chamber of Deputies, or lower house, last month rejected a similar proposal, but the government said later that it could sup-port such an experiment if it in-cluded a pay cut.

Under the Senate measure, participation in the 32-hour week would be voluntary, and compa-nies that participated would be exempted from some payroll taxes, provided they used the savings to create new jobs.

Conservatives had long criticized Ć moves to cut the work week, which was reduced to 39 hours from 40 after the Socialists came to power.

But the Balladur government, which came to power after crushing the Socialists in parliamentary elections in March, is being forced to look for new ways to fight joblessness while struggling with a 300, billion franc (\$50 billion) deficit. (AP, Reuters)

### British Data Show

### **Economy on Rise**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON - Britain's Central Statistical Office issued reports Monday of a modest rise in October producer prices and a strong rise in September consumer lending, signaling a strengthening economy with inflation under control. trieve 5.4 billion kronor, including 629 million kronor in cash and the The office said that output prices rose 4 percent in October from a rest in shares, that the government year earlier, compared with 4.2 perhad paid to bail out Nordbanken, cent in September, while net lend-···· "Securum's participation in the ing to consumers rose to £489 milsuggested merger between Nobel lion (\$726 million) in September, Industrier and Akzo is a sign of our the highest level in more than three aggressive strategy to regain credit years, from £225 million in August. losses," said Lars Thunnell, a presi-

### (AFX, Bloomberg) dent of Securum and vice president

**Spoon-Feeding a Polish Venture Gerber Baby Foods Faces Hurdles in 'Dream Market'** By Jane Perlez

gan, into international markets, particularly Eastern Europe, is Mr. Piergallini's answer to the company's growth problems caused by declining baby-food consumption and birth rates in the United States.

U.S. consumption of strained bananas, ap-plesauce and the like this year is running at more than 600 little jars for each birth, down 27 percent from two decades ago. By contrast, consumption per birth in Poland is fewer than a dozen jars a year. Gerber started producing 12 fruit and veg-etable varieties here in March. It took a year

A swift distribution

system won't help if Polish mothers cannot be convinced to use prepared

baby food. to get the bage metal steamers, washers, pres-

surized cookers and conveyer belts from the United States into a plant that had made fruit pices for children and small amounts of anned vegetables. Many of the 1,085 Polish workers needed

training in American standards of quality control. The first rule: no more smoking on the production line. Safety is a primary issue in baby food preparation, and while the Polish factory had

quality control, it was not systemized in a way that allowed codes on a jar label that identified the grower of the fruit or vegetable. "This is one of the biggest achievements

we've been able to implement -- Gerber's standards of traceability," said Wieslawa B. Sznajdrowska, product development manager as she held up a jar of apple-blueberry sauce with numbers typed on the label.

Many of the vegetables and fruits for Gerber's products come from small, nearby farms. The variety of carrots was found to be excellent; the local farmers had long ago been introduced to Dutch seeds. "Polish carrots look wonderful and are wonderful." Mr. Piergallini said.

Finding satisfactory chicken was more difficult. "We've had to work with the local poultry people to get them up to sanitary standards," Mr. Piergallini said. The first chicken products will be distributed in the next few months.

After tackling manufacturing problems Gerber turned to distribution. "Hair-raising," Mr. Piergallini said. "This country reminds me a lot of the United States in the 1920s, when there were lots and lots of stores.

There also are few distribution companies or warehouses and computer systems are lowgrade. For now, the company has set up a jerry-rigged distribution system based on its own warehouses and trucks plus two Polish distribution outfits.

But a swift distribution system will not belp much if Polish mothers do not like prepared baby food.

The company is starting with the medical community to try to ingrain the Gerber habit. It brought health experts together at a recent seminar to talk about infant-feeding practices around the world. The results of the seminar will be distributed among pediatricians.

### **AKZO:** A Chemicals Titan Formed **BIOTECH:** Celltech Fuels Dream

reg

#### Continued from Page 11. of Nobel. "The agreement is good

for taxpayers, shareholders and the employees in Nobel." troubled Swedish bank Nordbanken AB. Securum, which will be-come the largest shareholder in the Securum agreed to hold onto its 20 percent stake in Akzo Nobel for new company, was spin off from Nordbanken to manage the dispo-sition of some 60 billion kronor in at least two years. Mr. Thunnell said Akzo was "the perfect home" for the Swedish government stake troubled loans and assets, includ-ing the Nobel stake. in Nobel.

Analysts said the merger would The Swedish government, which company's scarce cash. probably spur other rationalization helped Nobel return to profitabili-ty in the last two years by catting back costs, has been trying to rid moves and acquisitions in the chemicals industry, which has been battered both by the recession and itself of its stake for over a year. the increased cost of developing Securum said it expected that the and market products. sale of its Nobel shares would re-"We will see continuing mergers

which will reduce risk and improve margins," said Martin Evans, a rights to its products in selected chemicals analyst at Hoare Govett. markets. Analysts said they expected alli-The other key to cash conservaances as a result of privatization programs in France and Italy and tion is the company's Biologics division. It makes monoclonal antifrom the wave of corporate reorgabodies under contract for a number nizations in Britain, of pharmaceutical companies.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Continued from Page 11 grow that governments may no longer pay for every new treatment regardless of cost. gram.

In Europe, where even a £30 mil-Aided by that contribution, Celllion share issue like Celltech's in tech said Monday that the group the midst of a bull market is seen as narrowed its losses to £5.89 million a tough sell, Mr. Fellner's proudest in the year ended Sept. 30. after a accomplishment is husbanding the shortfall of £7.46 million last year.

But Biologics' success points up To do so, he has entered into a problem that has plagued the bio-tech industry not just in Europe but partnership arrangements with such drug giants as Bayer AG of around the world; excessive early Germany and American Cyanamid expectations. Once thought to be Co. In return for assistance on evthe hottest product of the future, erything from research and develdemand for monoclonal antibodies opment to costly clinical trials, lagged years behind expectations. Celltech has retained commercial With demand picking up only

now, after many manufacturers went out of husiness, Celltech's tenacity has at last paid off. The resulting paucity of compe-tition, Mr. Feliner said, has enabled Celltech to "massively" raise Last year, Biologics' profit quaits prices.

drupled to £2 million on sales of £14 million, which belped fund Crédit National Celltech's ambitious R&D pro-**Gets IKB Protest** 

bank AG said the bank was "stunoed" that it had not been consulted about the nomination of Jean-Yves Haberer as chairman of the French banking concern Credit National, in which it bolds a 5 percent stake, Siegfried Cassier, chief econo-

mist and spokesman, said the "process" of Mr. Haberer's nomination did not "correspond with the practice in our country." Crédit National's board said it

Retailers

In Germany

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

could merge with the rival retailer

Hertie Waren- & Kaufhaus GmbH

by the end of this week, the compa-

Heiko Philipp, a Karstadt spokes-

man, said the supervisory boards of

the retailers would meet on Thurs-

day to decide whether to join their

department-store chains. Hertie said

it would hold a news conference on

Friday to announce "a change in its

corporate status." The Federal Cartel Office last

week announced the companies

German press reports said Kar-

stadt would swap its own stock to

pay for Hertie. That could be done

either by creating new shares, or if

Commerzbank AG and Deutsche

Bank AG sold their stakes of about

Office was unlikely to block the

expected merger or impose onerous

conditions after its approval of the

Swiss-based Metro AG's 1992

takeover of Asko Deutsche Kauf-

haus AG. Metro controls Kaufhof

Holding AG. Karstadt's main rival.

Analysts said the likely result of a

merger this week would be expand-

ed domination of German retailing

by Karstadt and Kaufhof. They see

Karstadt retaining its lead in depart-

ment stores, while Kaufbol, strong

in discount and specialist stores, is expected to forge links with Horten

AG, the fourth-largest German re-

AFP-Extel News

man for IKB Deutsche Industrie-

DUSSELDORF - A spokes-

(Rewers, Bloomberg, AFX)

tailer: Hertie currently is third.

Analysts said the Federal Cartel

were discussing a merger.

25 percent each.

nies indicated on Monday.

FRANKFURT --- Karstadt AG

Near Link

nominated Mr. Haberer, chairman of banking concern Credit Lyonnais, to succeed Yves Lyon-Caen as chairman and managing director.

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Frankfurt	DAX	2,010.81	2,012.56	-0.09
Frankfurt	FAZ	779.83	780.94	-0.14
Heisinki	HEX	1,533.12	1,558.02	-1.60
London	Financial Times 30	2,325.20	2,331.90	-0.29
London	FTSE 100	3,077.60	3,085.60	-0.26
Madrid	General Indax	299.29	301.04	-0.58
Mitan	MIB	1,228.00	1.225.00	+0.24
Paris	CAC 40	2,084.79	2,081.01	+0.18
Stockholm	Affaersvaeriden	1,679.16	1,677.78	+0.08
Vienta	Stock Index	455.43	453.21	+0.49

#### Very briefly:

Sources: Reuters, AFI

SES

Zurich

· ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd. said its robotics division had a deal with Renault SA, details of which would be announced Tuesday. A source said the venture would create a factory in France to make robotics systems for the automotive industry.

918.18

• ABB acquired Elektro-Praga, a wiring accessories company, from the Czech National Property Fund: the price was not disclosed. The unit will be called ABB Busch-Jaeger Elektro-Praga SRO.

• British Telecommunications PLC said a possible alliance among France Telecom, Deutsche Bundespost Telekom and American Telephone & Telegraph Co. would be monopolistic and "fly in the face" of European Community competition goals. Sources said the proposed alliance would include most activities outside voice services.

 Coffbel SA was ordered not to sell its 83 percent stake in Coffmes SA to Schneider SA of France until a Belgian court decides on a challenge by minority shareholders. The court said the offer, for 1,580 Belgian francs (\$38.23) a share, undervalued Cofimines by 18 percent and seemed to be "exclusively beneficial" to Schneider.

• Standard Chartered PLC will issue as much as £300 million (\$445.2 million) of preference shares and hopes to list its common stock in Hong Kong and Singapore, possibly in conjunction with an offering to investors.

• Yorkshire-Type Tees Television Holdings PLC said its chairman, Clive Leach, resigned. Last week, the company said its advertising sales for the year ended Sept. 30 were lower than expected and said it would report a loss for the year.

. Harrisons & Crostield PLC plans to dispose of "the substantial part" of its Australian and New Zealand chemicals operations within six months.

• Deutsche Lufthansa AG, citing a cost-cutting program that led to 5,500 joh losses over 15 months, said its third-quarter pretax income was 145 million Deutsche marks (\$85.4 million), reversing a 221 million DM loss a year earlier; its nine-month pretax loss narrowed to 76 million DM from 262 million DM.

· Daimler-Benz AG said its chairman, Edzard Reuter, would sign several cooperation agreements in China this month as be accompanies Chancel-lor Helmat Kohl on a visit from Nov. 14 to Nov. 22.

• Germany's M-3 money supply grew a revised, annualized 6.8 percent in September, slower than the 7.0 percent originally reported, the Bundesbank said. M-3 comprises cash plus checking and certain savings deposits. Rewers, AFX, Bloomberg, AFP

11.7.11 Monday's Prices NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list complied by the AP; consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year. 12 Month High Low Stock Sis Div Yid PE 100s High LowLatestChipe Div Yid PE 100s High Low Latest Crime 12 Month High Low Stock High Low Stock Div Yid PE 1005 High LowLotest Ch' 
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### ASIA/PACIFIC

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### **Korea** Acts To Attract Investors

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Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches SEOUL --- South Korea detailed a sweeping plan Monday to ease a broad range of restrictions on foreign investment and boost its exports io the face of stiffening competition in the world marketplace. The measures, announced at a meeting here of top government officials, include a provision to al-

low foreigners investing in manufacturing to buy land without prior approval, starting next March. They also case the rules on for-

eign-exchange transactions and shorten from 30 days to 10 the amouot of time needed to handle foreigners' applications to do business in South Korea.

John Wadle, an analyst with Barclays de Zoete Wedd securities, said the plan reflected the "government's move toward deregulation of the economy." But he added that the blueprint appeared to contain many elements announced earlier this year and that it left the private sector to take the lead.

Despite the overall easing of re strictions on land ownership, Fisaid purchases by foreigners for residential purposes would be lim-ited to about 660 square meters (7,100 square feet).

But he announced that foreigners investing in the high-tech sector would be allowed to raise all of their capital investment overseas and that tax rates for nonlisted companies in which foreigners have a stake would be cut.

Restrictions on purchases of Japanese machinery, which are permit-ted only when foreign-invested companies make fresh investment or raise capital, also will be relaxed. Imports of technology, other than those related to the defense and other advanced high-tech sectors, will no longer need to be re-

ported to the government. In a bid to boost export growth, Mr. Hong said his ministry would free 17 out of the 30 business sectors where South Korean companies are barred from overseas investment (Reuters, AFP)

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatch MILAN — Pirelli SpA, the Italian tire and cable maker, said So Does 'Scratch-and-Win' Monday it was making its first direct foray into the Chinese market by investing 170 billion lire (\$103 million) to set up two

joint ventures. One of the ventures, with an investment of 100 billion lire. will make radial tires at a factory in Beijing. Beijing Tire Factory will be a minority partner, with cootrol left to Pirelli and Hutchinson China Trade Holdings, the Italian company's Hong Kong agent for the Chinese market.

Internationale's deputy managing director, Yves Hémard, said the Chinese side would hold 43 percent of the venture, the French 37 The other venture, to be set np percent, while 20 percent would be held by Benjaya, a Malaysian group that specializes in gaming. The investment was put at 63 million francs with Houma Cable Factory for 70 billion lire, will make and sell (\$10.7 million). cooper and fiber-optic cable at a plant in Houma, in central

Shanxi Province. million in 2000, from 19 million Initial production capacity at in 1992. It added that radial tires' the Beijing plant will be 1.4 milshare of this market should grow lion tires a year for cars and light from under 10 percent now to trucks, with ourout aimed at the about 50 percent by 2000. Chinese market and neighboring In the cable venture, Pirelli countries.

Pirelli said the Chinese tire will become China's first foreign market was likely to grow to 36 partner in this key sector. Pirelb

**Continued from Page 11** 

The China market is the main factor behind the 6 percent gain in chines have soared, first to such exports that Seoul has seen so far Southeast Asian countries as Indonesia and more recently to China, this year, which was led by autos as those nations developed buge (up 64 percent), steel (up 24 per-garment-manufacturing industries. cent), machinery (up 24 percent) And with it, the work force at Sun- and electronic products (up 11 per-Star's factory has more than dou- cent).

bled in the past seven years, to 600. While SunStar has lost sales at Taiwan has recorded similar export gains primarily as a result of home because South Korean apdemand from its political enemies parel makers are moving operaoo the Chinese mainland.

**Pirelli Ventures Into China** 

with futernationale des Jeux.

tions overseas, the company's over-Despite this dynamism, the exall market is bigger now. The region needs more sewing maperience has not been painless for the South Koreans and Taiwanese chines than ever, because as China who lost their jobs.

When the Tae Gwang Rubber factory in Pusan shut its doors last and Indonesia develop their economies, more of their people can afford to buy more clothing. SunStar is hardly alone among month, employees staged a demon-stration and spray-painted the South Korean companies in profit-ing from this wellspring of growth. China has become South Korea's plant with such slogans as "Guarantee Our Livelihood!"

But even while bemoaning the lack of effort by government and management to balt the shoe industhird-largest trading partner in the 20 months since Seoul and Beijing signed an agreement ending their Cold War freeze on relations, knowledge that their unemployed

members usually manage to earn

Cavi SpA will hold about one-

third of the share capital in the

venture, with the option to be-

come the majority shareholder

and to acquire an interest later in

another joint venture with Hou-

ma Cable for cable manufactur-

ing in Tientsin. (Reuters, AFX)

In Taiwan, too, "If you're not wanted to build the refineries as afraid of working bard, it's easy to soon as possible, he said, while find a job," said Tseng Ching Ying. Nikko Kyodo wanted to postpone worker at Long Shoe Corp. Most South Koreans and Tai-

wanese who find new jobs move subsidiary, Gould Inc., this year, into the service sector. In Taiwan, incurring around 90 billion yen while the oumber of people employed in manufacturing bas dipped slightly over the past six do's managing director, Akihiko years, the number employed in services bas risen 29 percent to 3.2 broken up the consortium because

That may seem surprising to those who equate service jobs with hamburger-flipping and economic stagnation. But economists see ex- sible. pansion of the service sector as evidence of economic maturation, and South Koreans and Taiwanese are usually more than happy to move from hot, noisy factories to airtry's slide, Pusan union leaders ac- conditioned offices, stores, banks and restaurants.

**Refinery Plan** Halted by Japan And the Saudis

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches TOKYO - A group of Japanese and Saudi Arabiao companies agreed Monday to scrap a major oil-refinery joint venture, a result of Japan's recession and the slumping oil market.

The Japanese companies in-volved — Nippon Oil Co., Nikko Kyodo Co. and Arabian Oil Co. cited depressed domestic demand and low oil prices as reasons for the cancellation, which they said had been agreed to by the state-owned Saudi Arabian Oil Co. as well. The project, tentatively agreed to in 1991, also was to have included

Caltex Petroleum Corp., a joint venture of Texaco Inc. and Chevron Corp. of the United States, and Jar aimed to refine as much as 450,000 barrels of Saudi crude oil a day. The managing director of Nippon Oil, Yasushi Ebihara, said Caltex agreed with the decision to cancel the project.

Mr. Ebihara said at a news conference that the immediate cause of the venture's failure was a difference of opinion: Nippon Oil had wanted to build the refineries as

Nikko Kyodo dissolved its U.S. (\$830 million) of extraordinary losses as a result. But Nikko Kyo-

it could no longer afford to be part of the project. He said the company had simply needed more time to decide whether the project was fea-Officials of Arabian Oil Co.

made no comment at the news conference. The accord was to have helped Saudi Arabia break into the lucra-

tive Japanese oil refining and sales

sectors, while giving Japan a more stable source of oil. Industry sources added that the projected construction cost of the refineries had nearly doubled since the project was conceived, to I trillion yen, and the slump in the oil market meant it would have been much more difficult than expected to run the refineries at a profit. The failure of the venture may leave a large hole in Saudi Arabia's expansion plans in Asia, where it

owns 35 percent of Ssangyong Oil Co. of South Korea and plans to. build a refinery in a joint venture with Ssangyoog.

Japanese government officials ruled ont the possibility that the cancellation project would harm nese-Saudi relations.

(AP, Bloomberg, Reuters)

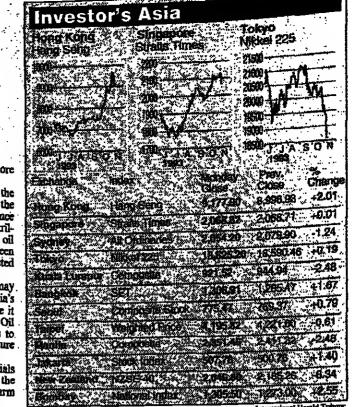
Tokyo in Talks With Beijing **On Car Market** 

Reuters BELIING - A delegation of Japan's top automakers opened talks Monday with China's State Planning Commission to try to secure a greater share of what could be one of the next century's biggest markets.

The members of the Japanese Antomobile Manufacturers Association, led by its chairman, Yutaka Kume, chairman of Nissan Motor Co., opened four days of talks. The auto-company officials are expected to ask Beijing to expand the number of foreign partners in China's auto in-

dustry beyond the current

eight projects.



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#### Very briefly:

 Taiwan Acrospace Corp., which last week stepped back from a jet co-production agreement with British Acrospace PLC, disclosed a prelimi-nary plan to cooperate with the American acrospace concern AlliedSignal Inc. in the satellite business.

• Hong Kong's second-quarter gross domestic product was up 5.1 percent from a year earlier after inflation, according to preliminary government data. That followed year-on-year growth of 5.4 percent in the first quarter and compares with government forecasts of 5.5 percent for all of 1993.

. International Bank of Asia Ltd., a subsidiary of Arab Banking Corp., made its debut on the Hong Kong stock exchange and closed 14 percent above its offering price.

· Straits Steamship Land Co. of Singapore said its Straits Greenfield Development Pte, unit would sign an agreement with the Burmese government next week to build and manage a \$50 million, 450-room five-star hotel in Rangoon near the Schwedagon Pagoda.

 Minolta Camera Co. posted a current loss of 1.054 billion yen (\$9.7 million) for the six months ended Sept. 30. It said further restructuring efforts and a recovery in camera sales in the second half should cut its full-year loss to about 1 billion yen.

• China said advertising spending soared 66 percent in the first half, to 4.2 billion yuan (\$727.6 million). An official quoted by China Daily predicted the figure would reach 28 billion yuan a year by 2000.

· Batam International Development Co. of Taiwan said it had resumed a \$200 million project to develop an industrial park on Indonesia's Batam island, ending a dispute with the Indonesian government.

cuters, Bloomberg, AFX, AFP

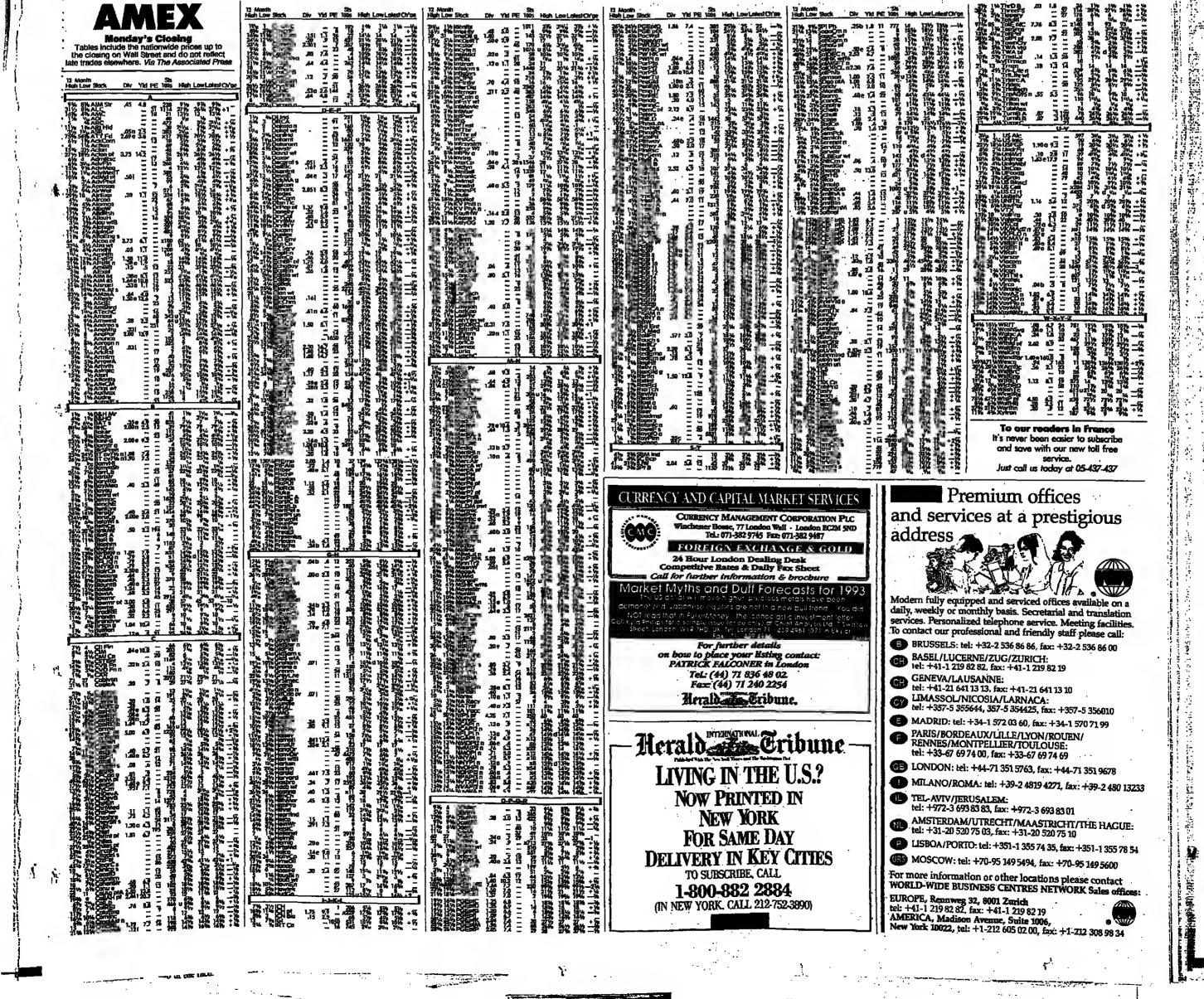
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ASIA: Dragons Lose Jobs to China, but Gain Market decent livings in other local indus-

Agence France-Press

BEIJING -- Internationale des Jeux, a French lottery company, said

Internationale des Jeux is an offshoot of Française des Jeux, the

state-owned company that has a monopoly over the sale of "scratch-

and-win" lottery tickets in France and also runs Loto, a game in

which the player picks numbers in a weekly drawing. The Lottery Center for Social Welfare, an organization under the

authority of the Chinese Social Affairs Ministry, set up a joint venture

Monday that it had won a contract to supply China's first scratch-and-win lottery tickets and that it hoped to sell its Loto system here as well.

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International Herald Tribune A Special Report

### Tuesday, November 9, 1993

## **Privatization in Europe**

### Labyrinth of Party Politics Holds Up Italian Progress But Now Some Dates Have Been Set

#### By Karina Robinson

ONDON — Calling Italy's privatization program a disaster may yet be premature; still, it has moved at a pace so slow that it beggars description. More than a year, ago. the government stated its aim of raising 11 trillion lire from privatization in 1993. Up to now, it bas managed to raise only around 437 billion lire.

But within the last two months Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi has taken the step of setting dates for the privatization of two stateowned banks, Credito Italiano and Banca Commerciale Italiana (BCT), as well as suggesting that the financial services group IMI will also be privatized soon.

The reasons for the delay lie in the Byzantine corridors of Italian power. Each state-owned enterprise tends to be the fieldom of one or another of the political parties, which are far from willing to give up sources of rich patronage. The combined might of Mr. Ciampi, a former central bank governor, and Romano Prodi, who has been an advocate of privatization since his last tenure as bead of state holding company 1RI in the 1980s, seems to finally be prevailing over party interests.

Two factors bave been instrumental in forcing the government to take action. One is the success of French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur's privatization of Banque Nationale de Paris. It not only put the Italian efforts to shame in terms of speed, but the French government's plans to privatize two other banks means the competition for equity funds interested in investing in European banking stocks will be intense.

The second factor is economic, said Giuseppe Albanese. Italian analyst at Standard & Poor's MarketScope. "Government credibility is at stake if the public deficit target of 145 trillion lire [S90 billion] for 1993 is surpassed. The latest indications show a deficit of 151 trillion lire, due to lower proceeds from privatizations — there were fewer of them, at lower prices than forecast — and lower than expected fiscal revenues due to the recession."

The economic climate is also to blame for the delay in privatizations. The government tried a trade sale of Credito Italiano but failed to find any takers, either foreign or domestic. As a result, it was forced to announce a flotation of its 67 percent stake in the bank, as well as the conversion of all savings shares into ordinaries so as to simplify the operation. The road show and marketing will take place this

month, and the price will be set in December. The same structure is envisaged for IRI's 57.4 percent stake in BCI, although this will not take place till next April. Italian gossip has it that merchant bank Mediobanca offered 5,100 lire per share for BCI to fulfill its aim of creating a northern Italian financial entity. Instead, the government will probably have to offer the shares to investors at a discount to net asset value of over 20 percent, which translates into a per share price of 4,800 lire, according to Antonio Tognoli, banking analyst at Milan brokers Intersim.

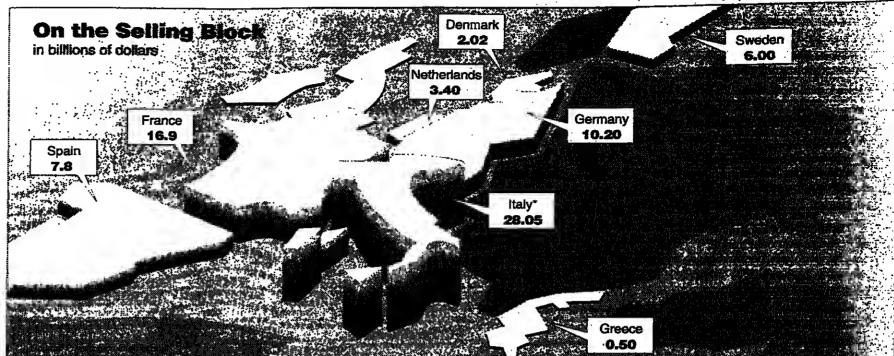
But, ironically, Mediobanca could well end up with control of BCI while paying less than it originally offered. This is despite the government decision that no single shareholder could have more than 3 percent of the banks. Mediobanca could achieve its rumored aim through a "shareholder pact." an old Italian institution that allows a group of shareholders, often with no more than a 2 percent stake each, to join together and achieve control with a minority stake of perhaps 30 percent. Other shareholdings are too dispersed to act together and therefore end up as de facto minority sbareholders without a say in how the company is run.

EANWHILE the political factor is still causing problems, with the recent resignation of Industry Minister Paola Savona, although later withdrawn, pinpointing the latest squabble. This involves an argument about whether privatizations should be done as simple public offers for sale in the British mold, or whether a *noyau dur* of core sharebolders should be put in place. Mr. Ciampi patched up the Savona crisis by stating that each privatization would be decided on a "case-by-case ba-

And there are certainly a large number of privatizations still to go. The Italian government's list of 19 is only slightly shorter than the French government's. It includes appetizing morsels such as the telecommunications group Stet, and energy company AGIP, as well as indigestible loss-makers like steel company liva.

This makes it all the more crucial that the Credito Italiano offer in December should be a roaring success. Working against it are the prob-

Continued on page 17



### **Unemployment Slows Headlong Rush to Sell**

#### By Conrad de Aenlie

ARIS — Antumn was to have been the start of the Great European Asset Sale. Governments had finally figured out that private owners do a better job of running businesses than they do. By selling off the PTTs, the airlines and the rest, they were going to ensure that these enterprises — and their entire economies — would run more smoothly; at the same time they would bring badly needed revenue into their treasuries. That, at least, was the theory. So far,

it hasn't worked out that way. There was one success: France, encouraged by the strong demand for shares of Banque Nationale de Paris, decided to get while the getting was good and immediately announced that Rhône-Poulenc would be put on the block next, followed by Elf Aquitaine. Then the Balladur government caved in to angry employees disrupting operations at Air France. The airline's sale to the public is in doubt and potential investors wonder what's in store for them should they take a chance on any other French industrial privatizations.

In Italy, meanwhile, endless bickering over

the best way to dispose of state enterprises is bolding up their sale. There was no argument in Greece: Andreas Papandreou, the unapologetic Socialist returned to power as prime minister, canceled plans to sell a 30 percent stake in the phone company to a foreign buyer on his first morning at work, before any opponents could utter a dissenting opinion or even hang up their coats.

There is plenty of dissent in Britain, where authorities would love to let the loss-making British Rail loose on the private sector, only no one outside the government seems to have anything good to say about the plan.

Just a few months ago, there was hardly a discouraging word for the ambitious programs to sell off state enterprises "in rich countries, poor countries, capitalist countries, ex-communist countries, even in places that still claim to be communist," as an enthusiastic cover story in The Economist described them. It noted that \$69 billion of state assets had been sold worldwide in 1992, pushing the total since the mid-1980s past \$300 billion. "By any measure, a transfer of ownership on this scale is a global economic revolution," the article said. True enough, only now it's not certain that the governments have as much fight in them as had been supposed. Nor is it assured that most of the sales that had been announced will take place according to schedule, or at all. What's behind this severe case of seller's remorse?

Two things: politics and economics, with the first in heaping measures. Economic growth has stalled at close to zero for the last several years, and unemployment is in double digits across much of the Continent.

#### HE hesitation to sell in such an environment reflects a belief that privatization costs jobs, but Rodney Lord, editor of the newsletter Privanzation

International, finds that not to be the rule. "It's not true that all privatized companies reduce employment," he said. "It is true that many of them do because they've been heavily overstaffed. When political imperatives are removed, the necessary slimming can take place. But in an economy where resources are allocated appropriately, employment is bound to benefit." In the long run, anyway. The trouble is elections often come up in the short run, and so sound economics gets shunted aside in favor of unsound politics.

"In some countries politics has reared its ugly head," said Roger Palmer, chief investment strategist at Kleinwort Benson Securities. "You've got short-term problems that are taking a long time to resolve."

In one sense, times are not hard enough, Mr. Palmer suggested. If European economies would sink further, it might force leaders to dram up the resolve to go on with their privatization programs at full speed.

"How did Argentina, of all places, manage to put its economy on the straight and narrow and the European countries haven't been able to?" he remarked. "Europe haan't suffered enough pain for politicians to bite unpalatable bullets. They're still worried and electorates are still worried about what's happening right now to look ahead."

Eastern Europe is one place where leaders are easing back on their reforms, notes Richard Conquest, chief economist at the Daiwa Institute of Research. Privatization is proceeding, but not at the envisioned shock-therapy pace.

"The problem is so many companies are insolvent," be said. "We know about enterprise credits that in theory have been holding up the solvency of some enterprises. If they are reduced or eliminated by the central banks, then

Continued on page 18

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### **Partial Privatization of Electric Power**

## Supply Companies in Hungary

Privatization of the electric power supply in Hungary, to be implemented in two phases, reached an important stage at the end of 1993. Even amid the existing conditions and well-known difficulties, the State Property Agency (SPA) managed to consistently realize targets it set some two years ago with the approval of the ministries involved. As a result, until noon, November 15, 1993, the SPA is inviting applications from strategic professional investors who undertake to purchase 15 petcent of the SPA's share package in the subscribed capital of the six Hungarian electric power supply companies and, at the same time, obligate themselves to subscribe a share package corresponding to a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 15 percent of the subscribed capital during a raise of the subscribed capital to be effected later.

Antecedents include the SPA's development of a two-stage, concern-like joint-stock company system out of a part of the Hungarian Electric Works Trust and its member companies, which started functioning on January 1, 1992. The fundamental purpose of the transformation is partly to update the ownership, management and organization structure of the Hungarian electric power industry and partly to create conditions for the implementation of gradual privatization in order to draw the necessary capital for the development of the electric power industry.

The special situation of the branch, its tasks and role resulted in the creation of a peculiar organizational and ownership structure. The upper level of the concern is represented by the Hungarian Electric Works Rt. (MVM Rt.), and the sub-share company level consists of 15 companies (eight power works, six network current suppliers and one basic network). On the basis of various bilateral contracts, MVM Rt. is responsible for system management tasks related to members of the integrated organization of the second level.

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be an A typical system of ownership relations has evoluved: the State Holding Company (AV Rt.) owns 99.8 percent of the shares of the MVM Rt. (AV Rt.'s task is to manage property retained in long-standing state ownership.) In companies on the sub-share company level, MVM Rt. owns 38-50 percent of the shares, the SPA has 38-49 percent, and local governments have a maximum eight percent holding in each company. Also, mines attached to power works have 12-17 percent shares each in the three power works companies.

Because the task of the SPA is the utilization of property in temporary state ownership, it has developed the two-stage privatization schedule of its ownership share in the electric power supplying companies by applying efficient privatization methods. The first step is partial privatization, including the utilization for compensation purposes of a share package corresponding to 10 percent of the subscribed capital, the setting aside of a share package corresponding to 15 percent of the subscribed capital to be offered for social security authorities, and the sale of a share package corresponding to 15 percent of the subscribed capital. For the latter, the SPA invited an open, single-round tendet, whose submission deadline is noon, November 15, 1993.

The second stage is full privatization, whose principles, including the sales method of the remaining "free" shares, are to be defined latet according to the results of utilization for compensation purposes, the attitude of social security authorities and the experiences of sales.

It should be mentioned that the SPA transformed the registered shares of three network current supplying companies in Decembet 1992. Thus the shares of the North Hungarian Electric Power Supply Company (ÉMÁSZ) became primary shares, and those of the South Hungarian Electric Power Supply Company (DÉMÁSZ) and the North Transdanubian Electric Power Supply Company (ÉDÁSZ) changed to interest-bearing shares.

The preparatory work for decision-making related to the SPA's ownership share and the subsequent implementation of the resolutions have been realized in accordance with the Organizational and Operation Statutes of the SPA and with the opinions of the branch ministries involved. To achieve the goals of the privatization of Hungarian electric power supply set some two years ago, the State Property Agency has invited an open, singleround tender for the selection of privatization consultants. As a result of the tender, five consulting companies are extending their expert assistance to the electric power supplying companies. In addition, the SPA has its own privatization consultant, the Allen and Overy company of Britain.

Professional investors have been invited to participate in the tender for the partial privatization of network electric power supplying companies. In addition to the purchase of the 15-percent share package, investors must simultaneously obligate themselves to subscribe a 10-15 percent amount of shares during the subscribed capital raise of the company in 1994. This system of invitation (anticipating and requiring the application of strategic professional investors who, in the longer term, expect a fruitful presence and who, depending on the magnitude of capital subscription, may have a substantial share) is in compliance with the characteristics and conditions of the electric power industry. Appropriately, strategic investors take into account a period of 10-20 years and do not attempt to ensure an immediate dividend.

According to plans, cost-proportionate prices must be set until 1996, as the present price level does not ensure the expectable capital returns and does not cover emerging real costs.

Raising the subscribed capital is aimed at creating conditions for profitable results, contributing to the implementation of the principal targets of privatization of the whole electric power industry. These targets are the following: a substantial capital is required

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for the renewal and development of the electric power industry and its adaptation to European norms of environmental protection, which can be ensured in the medium term only by external investment. It is also a condition for the long-term viability of the branch. The application of developed technologies and increasing the efficiency of electric power production, forwarding and supply are also imperative for renewing the branch. Privatization promotes the establishment of market conditions and the application of management and know-how. Implementing privatization with the help of strategic professional investors may promote Hungary's fast linking up to the Western European electric power system (UCPTE).

The schedule of the privatization transaction is rather tight. The invitation for the open, single-round tender was published in Hungarian newspapers on October 8, 1993, and applications must be sent to the SPA by noon, November 15, 1993. Tenders will be opened on the same day, and the Board of Directors of the SPA plans to decide on the winners at its session at the beginning of December. If everything goes as planned, the purchase and sale contract with the selected strategic professional investor can be concluded by December 15, 1993.

Completing the privatization transaction this year ensures the raising of the subscribed capital of the companies in 1994, thus improving their liquidity position, ensuring the financial resources for necessary development projects and creating favorable conditions for future financial investors.

Overcoming certain difficulties is unavoidable for the successful privatization of the electric power industry. Public utility services, including the electric power industry, are functioning in Hungary mostly as natural monopolies. Consequently, the introduction of related legal regulations is also needed. The amendment of Act IV of 1962 has not fully met this expectation. A fundamental aim of the new draft law on electric power supply, recently submitted by the Hungarian government to Parliament for urgent discussion, is to fulfill these requirements.

At present, the price level of electric power is pressed and does not ensure sufficient capital returns. Neither does it fully cover actual costs. Also, the presently applied tariff structure carries the possibility of further distortions. The achievement of a costproportionate price structure is possible only in a few years' time. It is expected that reconciliation talks going on between the Hungarian government and the World Bank will fruitfully and favorably promote the realization of these tasks.

Finally, it should be pointed out again that, in view of today's targets, the privatization of the electric power system will take place in two stages. The long-term privatization strategy of the electric power branch will be set up parallel with the sale of the share package.

#### Privatization in Europe/A Special Report

### **Czechs Endorse A Revolution** Second Wave of Offerings Will Liquidate State Control

#### By Philip Crawford

RAGUE - Despite the difficulties of a fragile infrastructure overburdened by the weight of rapid, fundamental change, the Czech Republic is poised for the completion of its goal to privatize all sectors of its formerly statecontrolled economy.

As the so-called "large-scale privatization" program enters its second wave this fall, the shares of roughly 1,000 newly privatized companies are already trading on the fledgling Prague Stock Ex-change, and about 400 investment funds have been launched. Shares of an additional 770 enterprises are currently being bid for by Czech citizens through the government's unique voucher system, which proved so workahle during the first wave of privatizations. Czech authorities forecast that by the end of 1994, more than 90 percent of the country's assets will be in private bands, whereas roughly 95 percent of all Czech assets were state-owned as recently as 1989

Such a dramatic turnaround in economic orientation in so short a time, without sustained political backlash, is no less than stunning, ay securities industry analysts. Overall, the privatization program has been a fantastic success. an overwhelming success," said Richard Wood, of Wood & Co., a Prague brokerage serving institu-tional investors. "By the end of next year, the Czech Republic will be the most privately owned country in Europe, and just a few years ago, it was one of the most stateowned. At this point, there's about \$70 million coming into the Czech usually market every month."

The Slovak Republic, constituuonally separate since the federation linking the two states was dissolved last year, has undergone its own similar privatization pro--cess, hut on a smaller scale, Share trading on the Bratislava Stock Exchange began on July 1, about 10 days after it began in Prague. Analysts credit several factors for the success of the massive Czecb project: a well-thought-out, multi-dimensional plan. a population

that was ready to embrace the con-cepts of private business and holding shares, and an economy situated in the beart of post-Cold War Europe with such huge potential that corporate giants from the United States and Western Europe have fallen over each other to attain a foothold. Between January 1990 and March 1993, direct foreign investment in the Czech Republic to-taled \$1.86 billion, with U.S. corporations such as Procter & Gamble and Westinghouse, and German automaker Volkswagen

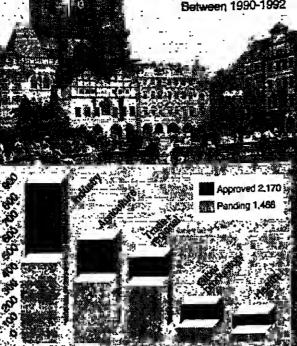
AG leading the charge. The roots of Czech privatization go back in 1990 when, for the first time in 41 years, a democratically elected, pro-free market government came to power in Czechoslovakia under President Vaelav Havel. Shortly thereafter, an overall design for the privatization process was developed that included four basic components: the restitution to owners or their descendants of land and commercial properties nationalized between 1948 and 1959; the return of similar properties to municipalities; a dl-scale privatization" program that involved auctioning off more than 21,000 small businesses such as retail stores and restaurants to private owners; and the "large-scale privatization" of larger companies using the voucher system, whose conception bas been credited to Prime Minister

Vaclav Klaus. N the voucher system, citi-zens pay a nominal fee of 1,035 koruny (S34), just enough to cover administrative costs, for a booklet of investment coupons that can be exebanged for sbares of newly privatized companies cr of funds investing in those companies. The booklets for the second wave of privatizations went on sale in Czech post offices on Sept. 29, and interest is reported to be as enthu-

siastic as in the first round, when more than 8 million Czech and Slovak citizens signed up for shares in properties worth over 650 billion koruny. The process through which market. companies have been approved for privatization has perhaps influenced their long-term viability.

Privatization Proposals in the Czech Republic

Between 1990-1992



Source: Ministry of Privatization of the Czech Republic

set up a private bank account, say some analysts, since the government allowed many competing which is relatively easy in do, to be able to buy shares directly on the proposals to be submitted for the same business. The healthy com-petition may have resulted in Prague exchange or to buy into Czech investment funds. Accordingly, most experts say that the best way for foreign individuals in leaner, more efficient ideas being put forth and ultimately apain exposure to the Czech market "Each proposal had to include a very detailed business plan, so you is through offshore funds, which

have more practicable channels of got several perspectives on how access Amid the considerable long-term bullishness on the Czech the company could be run," said Michael Gold of USAID, an market, however, problems do persist, What's the worst of them?

Telephones," lamented Mr.

Wood, of Wood & Co. "The infra-

structure has a long way to come."

William Crewdson of Fleming Investments Ltd., which manages

the Czechoslovakian Investment

American advisory group to the Ministry of Privatization in Prague. "Also. the proposals didn't have to be for the whole company, but only for a part of it. Market-driven competition and restructuring were kind of built into the process." Of the 1,000 or so companies

proved.

Corp., a Cayman-domiciled fund available on the Prague exchange, listed on the London Stock Exwhich is open for trading only on change, concurred that difficulties with infrastructure, as well as with Tuesdays, about 200 are active evlanguage and cultural barriers, ery session. Of those, perhaps five make investing in the Czech Recompanies have emerged as the bluest of the blue chips: CEZ, the public a challenge. "No one who electric utility, banking concerns hasn't been there and tried to do Ceska Sporitelna and Komerchi business there knows what it's like," he said. "But that being said, Banka, chocolate maker Cokolawe're extremely bullish on the dovny, and tobacco concern Ta-Czech Republic over a five- to bak. About 10 of the 400 Czech ten-year period." investment funds dominate the

Analysts in Prague say that a PHILIP CRAWFORD writes foreign retail investor would have about finance and economics from to come to the Czech capital and

### **Germans Turned to Foreign Deal-Makers** Treuhand Cites Lack of Local Experience in Great Sell-Off

#### By Miriam Widman

ERLIN - The Treubandanstalt, Germany's privatization agency, awarded its biggest and most lucrative deals to non-German mergersand acquisitions specialists, but German banks and consulting companies are not com-plaining much and industry experts say the massive sell-off of East German companies has helped the fledgling German M&A industry. The Goldman Sachses, Morgan Stanleys

and S. G. Warburgs of the world were awarded the giant contracts for two simple reasons, according to Karl-Hermann Klöttschen, director of investor services at the Treuhand: They have better contacts abroad than German M&A companies and more experience in the business.

"It was a conscious step to get foreign inves-tors," he said. Additionally, the agency wanted to ensure that no potential conflict of interest popped up. "A foreign company doesn't have to take any local clients into consideration," he said

Credibility, experts say, is the key. While there have been complaints from within the German Federal Cartel Office that the Treahand's sell-offs have favored West German companies, the agency defends its record. Mr. Klöttschen notes that 10 percent of the 180 billion Deutsche marks (\$106 billion) in promsed investment comes from foreign firms, which be says is quite good.

Investment advisers say convincing foreign investors that they have the same chance as a West German is crucial.

"You need a lot of credibility to ask an American firm to take over a beavy loss-making company in the East," said Paul Ach-leitner, co-director of investment banking for German-speaking countries for Goldman Sachs. "You need a reputation that bids aren't being used to shop around to raise the price for the Germans." The relative lack of experience of German

firms in the M&A sector burt them as well. Simply put, the corporate culture here does not allow for raiders and white knights. Benedikt von Schroder, an executive direc-

Investment bankers don't grow on trees in Germany. It's very tough to find people.'

tor at Morgan Stanley in charge of corporate finances for Germany, put it bluntly: "Investment bankers don't grow on trees in Germany.

It's very tough to find people." But German firms have not come up empty-handed and non-German firms say they have seen increases in the quantity and quality of German merger specialists. The East German privatization process has

given many midsized German merger firms valuable experience in deal making, industry experts say. Mr. von Schroder points to the "boutique" firms, which have focused on medium-sized deals. While non-German firms got the deals involving companies with 10,000 or more workers. German consulting groups were often awarded mandates to sell off firms with up to 2,000 workers.

For the most part, the German big banks are not complaining about the Treuhand's han-dling of its privatization process. A spokesman for Deutsche Bank said the firm did not think it had been treated unfairly, and besides, since the company bought London-based Morgan

Grenfell, it has an M&A expertise. The Dresdner Bank was unable to produce some one for comment on the subject, but a privatization expert at Commerzbank did feel that German institutions were given a bum deal. "We were treated badly." he said. While

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acknowledging that foreign firms are impor-tant in the M&A area, he rejected the Treuhand's argument that German banks are not experienced enough internationally to bandic a major privatization. The Treuhand was a little bit blind that

they only focused on Anglo-American furns, he said, adding that Commerzbank has extensive contacts through its partner banks in Western Europe.

Others feel that they are unfairly looked down on by non-German firms. Frankfurt Consult, the consulting and M&A arm of the BHF Bank in Frankfurt, bas been in the business for more than 10 years. A spokesman said the bank handled some Treuhand privatizations, but was not dependent on the East German sell-off for added experience.

Still, outside experts say the German market has a ways to go in meet the international standards. German experts focus more on consulting than deal making. Mr. von Schrode: said, and the market is more of a "do-ityourself market," where banks and consulting groups do not play that big a role. But be noted that 20 years ago, consulting was not hig in Germany, and now it is.

"If you ask are the deals [German firms work on] small, the answer is yes," said Mr. Achleitner. "Do guys like us get the big deals." Yes. Do I see it changing? Yes. The German banks will start to improve their track record and will become big competitors.

MIRIAM WIDMAN is a journalist based in

### Continued from page 16

lems currently affecting the Italian banking sector. Nicholas Krasno, a senior analyst at top U.S. rating agency Moody's Investors Service, said, "Italian banks have a very serious asset quality problem. The recession has bitten deep. Banks tend to lag the cycle in showing losses, particularly as toan recognition of bad losses is difficult to ascertain and is probably more of a problem than they recognize. Their individual imit for each borrower is much higher than in banks outside Italy."

The effects of the recession will result in the banks increasing their provisions for bad loans, which will affect their profits for the next two years. But investors have probably already discounted this. The success of the Credito Italiano offer, therefore, will to a large extent depend on another issue: the flow of funds.

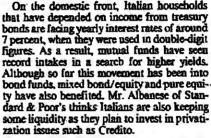
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On the foreign front, many international investors are bullish on the Italian stock market. They also believe that nongovernmental management of the bank will lead to cost savings and increased efficiency.

KARINA ROBINSON is a London-based journalist who reports on politics and economics in Spain and Italy



Prime Minister Carlo Ciampi



### **Paris: The 200-Billion-Franc Question**

By Martin Baker

ARIS — The French Economics Ministry is currently deliberating over the next step in bringing another large and suc-

January." said one Parisnext based banker, who added that this was the original timetable for the sale of the company. If that is so, there may be a happy coincidence between plan-

ever. "I would expect it all to occur some time in the second half of

the Anglo-Saxon countries. It Marc Landeau, president of Olympia Capital Management, a makes sense to bring these compa-Paris-based specialist fund mannies to the market." agement group, agrees that the government will achieve its politi-

But will that logic appeal to the. notoriously risk-averse French in-dividual investor? Alain Galène, cal objective of selling the companies for its stated price: "Whatevdirector with responsibility for French couities at Société Générer needs to be done to get them

## **Italian Labyrinth Holds Up Progress**

State-own tinto private ownership. The flotaere giant Rhenz-Foulenc on the Fun Bourse will mark the second in a series of 21 privatizations that France's center-right government announced shortly after its election this March. The stated objective of Prime Minister Edouard 'Bulladur's administration is to raise around 200 hillion francs. making the program one of the biggest ever seen.

Yet, despite the size of the task. both domestic and international observes regard the privatization orogram as being more realistic than ambitious — that is, of recurse, provided the world's mar-'keik remain buoyant.

; The advice that Finance Minister Edinond Alphandery is now taking comes from a specially formed commission of leading industrialists, financiers and civil servants. They are reporting on how and to whom the minister should allocate the shares that will form the "core" shareholding in Rhone-Poulenc. The concept of the core shareholding is expected to be common to all the privatizations. It is designed to provide an element of managerial and industrial stability, and to ensure that the newly privatized companies do not immediately fall prey to hostile takeover bids.

Rhône-Poulene already has core sharebolders. They are, in descending order of importance: Credit Lyonnais, AGF. Societé Génerale and Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP), which was itself successfully sold into the private sector in September. Core shareholders have to sign an agreement to hold a large percentage of their shares for specified periods of time. They must also agree to purchase at least 1 percent of the company. Among those believed to be seeking a core shareholding is the Italian motor conglomerate ' Fiat

Aside from the core shareholding, the company's employees will be offered shares, as will French and international investors. And, of course, there will be a public offering to individuals in France. The question the markets are ask-ing is: "When will it all happen." "We are ready to go: the prospectus is written, and has been used in the road shows around France." said a Rhone-Poulenc spokesman. "All we need is the price. It makes sense for it to happen before Christmas."

Sources close to the financial institutions arranging the privatization, who insisted on anonymity, disagreed on the timing, bow- achieved its goal already.

The problem the government must address is the perennial one of conservative investing habits.

ning and the market cycle. While BNP was sold into a raging bull market, the Paris Bourse has been get rid of debts and make things question of price, or of waiting to get rid of debts and make things look good for the market — one in decline since the latter half of analysis of why there's delay in the October. The Bourse can fall 7, maybe Renault-Volvo merger - wbateveven 10 percent, and it's still not a

er needs to be done will be done." problem: it's a short-term phe-Gerald Holtham, chief international economist at Lehman nomenon that is far from worry-



Rhône-Poulenc says, "We are ready to go.

ing," said Bruno le Chevallier, Brothers, concurs: "I'd say the French market is definitely good French market strategist at Pari-sian broker, James Capel SA. for 200 billion francs in the next Mr. le Chevallier is confident two years. Some people argue it's that, short of a market catastroovervalued when you look at the phe, the government will achieve ratio of share prices to earnings, its 200 billion franc (\$34 billion) but not us. We compare the yields objective. There are three argufrom French shares with bonds, ments underpinning his reason-ing: success of the "Balladur and see the market has value. There's plenty of strength to abbond" (an interest-paying fiscal sorb the privatizations." sweetener to entice retail money Michel Haski. Paris-based depaway from money market acuty chairman of Framlington Unit counts), the Plan d'Epargne Ac-

Management, a mutual fund subtionnaire, and keen interest from sidiary of French bank CCF, sees foreign institutions lead Mr. le another type of financial logic in Chevallier to conclude that the the program: "We have a relative-French government "has almost ly small percentage of our industry juoted on the Bourse compared to

Equities and D Paris, argues that the BNP flotation was "a buge success, partly due to the bank's ability to use its network to market its own shares. Rhône-Poulenc doesn't bave such a capability. Little has been said as to when

other companies in the program will come to the market. Banks such as Crédit Lyonnais clearly have to put something attractive in their balance sheets before coming under the hammer. And the industrial troubles and large losses suffered by Air France recently make it a candidate for a later rather than an earlier sale.

In addition to the vagaries of the market, and industrial difficulties, observers see the French government's ability to sell the idea of share ownership to its electorate as vital to the overall success of the program. Again, the problem the government must address is the perennial one of conservative in-vesting habits. Can the privatization program bring about change?

The government did a good job promoting the liquidity and transparency of its bond market." said Mr. Holtham. "If it can do a similar job of promoting the bene-fits of privatizing some of its com-panies, the issues will go well. As for changes in mentality, I just don't know."

Mr. Haski, however, believes the beginning of a major change in investment behavior is occurring: "For the past two-and-a-half years in the United States, and the past year in the United Kingdom, we save seen a huge rush to equity fund investment. That's partly because of low interest rates. And partly for that reason in France we have seen investors over the past two to three months come flocking into the mutual fund market." Mr. le Chevallier at James Ca-

pel is more skeptical. While he sees that privatization "will bring a better equilibrium in investors' portfolios, it's not true to say that there's a new generation of investors out there waiting to play the stock markets like individuals do in Anglo-Saxon countries. These things change very slowly."

For the moment, the consensus view is that, whether there is any change in long-term investing habits or not, the program will sell to French consumers. That impetus, plus the undoubted interest from international institutions, should see the government with 200 biltion francs in its coffers by 1995.

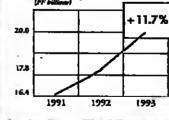
MARTIN BAKER is editor of the International Herald Tribune's Money Report.





Consolidated premium income: FF 32.6 billion in subscriptions. International share of revenue: FF 12.6 billion.

#### **INSURANCE IN FRANCE** Consolidated premium inco



Premium income: FF 20 billion generated mainly by AGF VIE (FF 10.5 billion) and AGF IART (FF 8.6 billion). Contribution to half-year earnings: FF 1,183 million.



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#### INSURANCE OUTSIDE FRANCE

1992	1993
1,558	1,736
1,505	1,596
1.840	1,571
4,913	4,886
9,816	9,789
	1,505 1,840 4,913

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Premium income: FF 9.8 billion, achieved mainly by AGF International (excluding AMB). Percentage change on a comparable basis: 14.5%. Contribution to balf-year earnings: FF 212 million.

#### REINSURANCE

Premium income: FF 2.8 billion, including FF 1.5 billion from SAFR. Contribution to half-year earnings: FF 48 million.

#### BANKING, FINANCE AND REAL ESTATE OPERATIONS

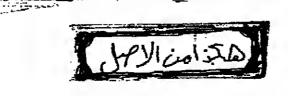
Contribution of banking and finance operations to half-year earnings: - FF 163 million. Including: Banque dn Phénix: FF 6 million. BFCE: FF 46 million. Comptoir des Entrepreneurs: FF - 297 million.

Contribution of real estate operations in halfyear earnings: FF 65 million.

#### GROUP HOLDING COMPANIES

Contribution from Société Centrale des AGF and the 4 holding companies AGF S.A., AGF International, Métropole S.A. and Compagnie Financière du Phénix: FF 393 million.

DECIDED TODAY



Privatization in Europe/A Special Report

### Tories Keep British Rail On Track for Big Switch *Timetable Contains Political Risk*

#### By Robert Bailey

ONDON — The British government's move to sell off British Rail to the private sector is thought by some to be bold and imaginative: by others it is seen as muddleheaded and doomed to failure. For an administration with ebbing public support and a small majority, it is a high-risk political strategy.

Releasing the railroads from public control has wider implications since it represents the beginning of the end of a long campaign by the Conservative Party to roll back the state's involvement in the British economy. As such, it is a watershed.

Gas, water, electricity, steel, telecommunications, airports, the national airline, ferry services and now railroads have all been returned to the private arena. What is left of Britain's coal industry is also due to part company with the state during the present government's tenure.

The ideological undercurrent has never been far (tom the surface in the debate over the 117-page bill ending state control of British Ruil, which completed its passage through Parliament on Nov. 4. Completion of the bill marks a new era

Completion of the bill marks a new era for Britain's railroads, which have been owned and operated by the state since 1948. The business to be passed to private control is huge. About 130,000 people are employed directly by BR with another 50,000 jobs estimated to be dependent on BR operations. The network operates 16,000 trains a day carrying L million passengers. BR also carries 130 million tons of freight a year.

According to the government, the objectives of rail privatization are to improve the quality of services. The time has come, it says, "to harness the management skills, entrepreneurial flair, ideas and capital of the private sector, in order to provide a better railway system,"

Transport Minister John MacGregor has pointed out the limitations of BR's present structure: "The existing celture is not the best starting point for taking our railways into the 21st century. It is about keeping the trains running rather than the market-orientated thrust of identifying what the customer wants and then being flexible enough to deliver."

The BR chairman. Sir Bob Reid, in a speech in March, echoed some of this sentiment when he said: "In far too many areas of the railway operation we still have in place thoroughly outdated working patterns that are simply not geared to the needs of a live and busy railway at the end of the 20th century. They involve us in grossly excessive amounts of overtime, too many hours at work that are spent unproductively, more working of anti-social hours than is necessary and less safety for many of those involved."

However, different groups have expressed apprehension over the prospect of change. The Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers estimates that more 50,000 BR jobs could go. Consumer groups are fearful that services will be chopped and fares increased. An opposition Lahor peer, Lord Clinton-Davis, has said: "We believe the hill represents useless baggage of Tory ideology, which, frankly, should he consigned to the lost oroperty office of decomposing ideas, never to be heard of again."

ABOR'S spokesman on transport in the House of Commons, Brian Wilson, has stated. "It is inescapable that rail privatization equals soaring fares and fewer services and that it casts a long shadow over the very existence of many routes,"

Many observers across the political spectrum agree that rail privatization is likely to take much longer to implement than envisaged by the government.

Ownership of track, stations, and infrastructure is to be transferred to a new government-owned company called Railtrack, y which will eventually itself be privatized. a The new organization is expected to be vested in April next year. It will manage signaling and the track, and charge for access to this.



Railtrack will be able to apply for capital grants for new investment programs but will meet costs from franchise revenues and not receive any government subsidy.

BR's rolling stock is to be transferred to three companies, which will lease this to franchises and, until these are appointed, to BR's operating divisions.

Railroad stations are to be managed by the private sector. All of BR's present passenger services are to be franchised progressively over the next few years. There will also be opportunities for private sector operators to run entirely new services with rights to open access to track.

Starting in 1994, 26 BR-owned "shadow" franchises and train companies will operate passenger services until they are taken over by the private sector under franchise. The shadow franchise involves BR setting up the operation as a defined management and financial operation with services such as London Victoria to Gatwick Airport, paying for its overhead and producing a working set of accounts as if it were a fully independent company.

There may be up to 40 franchise operators but it is expected that this will take 10 years or more to come about. Those seeking a franchise must obtain an operator's license from the regulator, who must approve every access agreement between Railtrack and operators.

Franchises are to be awarded to those

operators who can meet specified service requirements for the highest premium or least subsidy. In return, they will have the right to operate particular train services for up to 10 or even 15 years.

As the private sector measures its options, wider concern has been expressed over the rail system's future funding arrangements. There is little doubt that if the integrity of the oresent network is to be maintained then very large expenditure is going to be needed.

Much of the system's equipment is 30 years old or more. Some of BR's infrastructure dates back to the first half of the 19th century. It is estimated that simply to maintain the existing nerwork requires investment of about £850 million (\$1.275 billion) a year. Sir Boh Reid has warned that if privatesector leaders cannot pick up the challenge they should say so clearly. "so that we do not waste time pursuing pipe dreams."

The public has yet to be persuaded that the government has acted wisely with regard to BR. Major General Lennox Napier, chairman of the Central Transport Consultative Committee, which acts as the rail users watchdog body, has said: "Passengers are being taken on a journey into the unknown. It remains to be seen whether the destination is one where they may want to go."

ROBERT BALLEY is a journalist based in

### Getting the Message to Market Admen Shift Strategy to Lure Shareholders

#### By Jacques Neher

ARIS — Six years ago, French film star Catherine Deneuve was employed in a TV commer-

cial to seduce her countrymen into buying shares of Compagnie de Suez, the financial holding company the government was privatizing. This month, Rhône-Ponlenc SA, the chemicals and pharmaceuticals giant, is running newspaper ads for its upcoming privatization featuring a pair of shapely legs dressed in silky transparent panyhose.

The headline on the ad declares, m "When Rhône-Poulenc beautifies re women's legs, it's good for men, M it's good for stockholders."

And when France privatizes its state-owned groups, one might add, it's good for the Paris advertising industry. The current 21company privatization program, launched this fall with Banque Nationale de Paris, is expected to pump 1 billion francs (\$170 million) into agencies and media, a welcome lifeline to sustain the industry through the economic abo

That is more than double the 400 million frances invested in advertising in the last privatization program of 1986-88, and a recognition of the importance of advertising in the government's effort to distribute shares in state assets to the greatest number of individuals.

Campaigns for the most important orivatizations are expected to run between 50 million and 70 million francs, with the company and the government sharing the costs. in the

The kinds of messages conceived to sell stock to French households differ according to the company. its activities and its image in the marketplace. For BNP, ad agency BDDP hired noted director Jean-Paul Goude to such the theme "Lat'r

Goude to push the theme, "Let's its various threads and fibers are grow together." The campaign, also used in arbags, heat-resistant

combined with a very attractive offer price, mailings to the bank's 4.5 million customers, and a point-ofsale program at 2,000 BNP branches, produced 2.8 million stockholders, a predictable success. "It was a marketing steamroller," said one Paris fund manager. Indeed, some professionals say that the novelty of the program, the high consumer awareness of the first companies to be sold and the low offering share price, makes a divertising more an "insurance" than a principal tool in the marhe king process. "The role of advertising will be

In the fore important after the first two or three privatizations," said Maurice Levy, chairman of Publicis. "The issues will become banal and the companies will be less glamorous. Then it will be the task of advertising to sell the shares." Even if it's insurance now, the agencies are leaving no room for

overoptimism. In Rhône-Poulenc's case, the company and its ad agency, Euro-RSCG, faced the problem that people still did not know much about Rhône-Poulenc other than

it was a big chemical company. "Our image was rather good, but since we didn't have any consumer product, and we weren't present on the street like BNP, people didn't really know what we make," said Nicole Martin, the company's advertising director.

As a result, Euro-RSCG proposed a campaign aimed at informing the market about the company's various activities. For example, while the legs ad in the seven-ad series plays to sex appeal, long a main feature in French advertising, the copy is less than titillating. It goes on to explain how the company has become Europe's leading producer of polyamide thread used in stockings and pantyhose, and tells how

JACQUES NEHER is on the staff. of the International Herald Tri-

clothing for firemen and outfits for athletes.

ketplace, say advertising professionals. Since the stock market

crash of October 1987, which oc-

curred just at the moment Miss Deneuve was asking viewers to "think about" Suez, the French

have become better informed and

viser about where they place their

"Things have changed," said

Ms. Martin. "The type of campaign used in 1986-87 would not

work now. People want less spectacle and more concreteness. The

Catherine Deneuve approach is

in television and regional and na-

tional newspapers, media that can

respond quickly to a governmental

Pre-marketing advertising, of the sort Rhône-Poulenc is now running in France, typically-lasts for two or three weeks, while the

actual stock subscription period.

in which the shares carry the gov-

The advertising bonanza has sharpened the wits of Paris ad

agencies, who now are given no

guarantees they will win the priva-

tization accounts; even if they al-

ready serve as agency for the com-

pany about to be sold. For

example, the government's privatization committee picked BDDP-

to do BNP's sell-off, even though

Euro-RSCG was the bank's agen-

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decision to begin a sell-off.

OST of the money

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Indeed, the shift to the concrete in advertising for privatizations in France reflects a shift in the mar-

### Sink or Swim for Dutch Float

#### By Philip Crawford

ARIS - 11 will be the largest privatization. of a European telecommunications company since British Telecom sold its first shares to investors nearly 10 years ago. The big question is: Will it work?

Ever since the Dutch government announced in March that it would sell a majority stake in state telecommunications monopoly Koninklijke PTT Nederland NV, known as KPN, investment community wires have been humming with speculation over how the shares will be received in the crucial domestic market. Nowhere has the interest been more intense, outside of The Hague and Amsterdam, than in Paris and Frankfurt, since the success or failure of the KPN offering could be a barbinger of what lies in store for France Telecom and Deutsche Telekom, also slated to go public. With the floating of KPN shares expected during the first half of 1994, the talk has nurned to how the Dutch government plans to stir market interest at home, where the concept of holding shares is still somewhat foreign, and to how KPN as a company might measure up against the likes of British Telecom (BT) as the European Community heads toward unregulated cross-border competition in the telecom sector by Jan. 1, 1998. Most securities analysts appear optimistic on bow the KPN offering will be received - by international as well as domesne investors - and on the company's financial, operational, and managerial strength. Many past precedents, moreover, are encouraging: Shares of British Telecom, Telekom Malaysia, and Hong Kong Telecom, for example, all performed well in the first few months following privatization. Officials at KPN are no doubt watching Singapore as well, where the initial float of Singapore Telecommunications Ltd. just 10 days ago was massively oversubscribed But no one in the Netherlands is celebrating just yet.

"There's lots of interest in the offering so far, but most of it has been from institutional investors," said Roel Gooskens, who follows the Dutch market for the brokerage James Capel & Co. in Amsterdam, "Interest by private investors will have to be created, by brochures, publicity campaigns and that sort of thing."

While a fair amount of the units and bolts of the privatization has yet to be determined, some final decisions have been made. Roughly a third of the company will be offered in the first tranche, with the second float set for 1997. The lead underwriter will be. Dutch banking giant ABN AMRO Holding NV, with Internationale Nederlanden Groep NV and Rabobank Nederland BA, two other premier Dutch banks, also playing significant roles. Foreign underwriters have yet to be chosen.

The most crucial decisions yet to be made, of course, are the ones that could make or break the deal, exactly how many shares will be offered and

## Up front, most banks look like solid business partners.

#### Page 18



### But will they back you up when the going gets tough?

Just because it says it's a hank on the impressive façade doesn't necessarily guarantee that you're always dealing with a reliable business partner.

Fortunately, if you see the name ABN AMRO Bank over the door, you can be sure that you're dealing with one of the world's most rock solid financial institutions.

Our financial base represents US\$ 242.7 billion in assets and US\$ 9 hillion in shareholders' equity, placing us among the world's top twenty banks. Moreover, our bank comfortably meets the capital adequacy ratio set by BIS and EC.

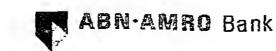
Our goal is long-term relations with our clients, which explains wby we've been in South America more than 75 years, in the Far East

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for over 150 years. What's more, our associates know that they can rely on us as business partners not only in good times, but also when the going gets tough.

Take our branches in Lebanon, for example, which since they opened their doors in 1954 have only been shut for 20 days. Needless to say, that presupposes really committed staff. But even more significant is the fact that you'll be working with a bank which looks further ahead than tomorrow. Or even the day after tomorrow.

#### CREATING THE STANDARD IN BANKING.



 most importantly, at what price. "Eagineering a price that the market can be comfortable with will be a challenge," said Douglas Wighte, European telecom a analyst at Crédit Suisse First Boston in London. "But there are lots of reasons to feel positive about demand for the shares. Holland is coming out of recession, the Dutch guilder is a hard currency, and KPN is a wellmanaged company. The shares should be attractive to international investors, and I expect considerablo domestic interest as well."

Other analysts say that for the float to be successful, at least half of the shares must be bought by Dutch investors, and half of those by retail as opposed to institutional buyers. Current estimates place, the total market value of KPN at about 21.5 billion guilders (\$11.3 billion).

The last major privatization of a state-owned firm in the Netherlands took place in 1989, when chemical giant DSM NV was brought to the market in two tranches priced at 108 and 125 guilders. The fact that-DSM is now trading in the 103-guilder range could be a burdle for the Dutch government in generating local interest in KPN shares.

### **Unemployment Slows Rush**

Continued from page 16

bankruptcy on a buge scale will surely follow. That's something the new democracies are worried about. There's no point in exposing fragile enterprises to the full weight of competitive pressures when for half a century they've existed in an unreal world."

That attitude pervades French thinking, as well. There's still a feeling that the state wants to keep some kind of control at arm's length and not release these companies Anglo-Saxon fashion to the mercies of the market," observed Mr. Lord of Privatization International.

Such a philosophy, displayed vividly in the government's promise not to go through with its plan to lay off several thousand Air France workers in its restructuring of the sickly carrier, is not the sort of thing that cheers potential shareholders.

is complicating the privatization process, "whether companies should be prepared for privatization while in the state sector, or whether they should be sold for whatever they'll fetch and then do all the restructuring after they've been sold." He said, "There is a case for doing it now, so the taxpayer won't feel cheated, but it may be difficult for the French government to accept large-scale layoffs."

Another decision that must be made before a company is offered up to the public is whether to sell it firms are so huge that if they are sold in one chunk, potential rivals may be afraid to come forth and challeuge the monsters, stilling the hoped-for competition that was one of the main reasons to sell the assets in the first place.

Britain's Monopolies and Merg- mer

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ers Commission recommended last summer that British Gas, which was privatized as a single company in 1986, should be broken into several pieces. This would end its monopoly on the supply of gas to domestic users.

"It's easier to sell one big company," Richard Davidson, European equity strategist at Morgan Stanley, pointed out. But easier is not always better. "Several lessons can be learned all over Europe from the U. K. privatization program. In the case of utilities, you have to have a clear regulatory environment or a clear competition policy."

RITICS find both of these lacking with British Rail, which the Conservative government still hopes to divest. Mr. Conquest of Daiwa calls the handling of the rail privatization "a major political mistake" because too little attention is being paid to the needs of passengers, who often vote Tory.

Tory. "If past experience means anything, prices to consumers will rise substantially," he said. "Those consumers live in a belt around London and other Conservative cities. This seems one privatization ton far."

Deciding who the buyers will be is keeping privatization from geting very far in Italy. One alternative is the French sway, issuing shares to a group of core holders who can provide stability and managerial guidance but are also likely in be the same corporate giants that have keep Italian industry from developing the vitality it would have in a truly free economy. The second is the British way, selling to small investors; but this would dump a lot of stock conto a very thin equity market.

market. "Successive Italian governments have been talking about pri-Paris.

varization for several years, but very little has happened," said Mr.: Lord, "There are still many arguments going on under the surface," or not so far under the surface. The future of the Italian programvery much requires the right political conditions, and it's not-

very clear that these are in place." Looking on the bright side, he added: "We've certainly seen quite a lot of progress since the summer, by Italian standards. The government has gone as far as appointing investment backs to value assets and set a timetable."

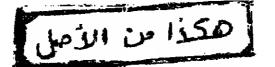
Despite all the hitches in Italy and elsewhere, the prevailing view is that the programs will go forth, if not as fast as had been hoped.

"It's distorting the picture to say that all these countries are having problems," said Mr. Palmer of Kleinwort. "I suspect that if we have this conversation in a year's time, you'll find many countries we're talking about now will have an improving background environment for privatization."

Despite the potential political fallout, governments realize that corporate valuations, as reflected in share prices, are high all over Europe. There is plenty of money around to throw into newly privatized businesses, so it pays to unload them now.

But there is more to it than just a one-shot injection of a few billion dollars to the treasury. By encouraging private pension plans, say through tax exemptions to buy shares, governments can relieve themselves of some of the burden of financing their citizens' retirement. And once states self their businesses, they become somebody cise's problem, one that may finally be solvable.

CONRAD DE AENLLE writes about finance and economics from Paris



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**INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1993** 

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### **SPORTS Holyfield Wants** Bowe III, Duva Says It's Lewis

By Gerald Eskenazi New Unit Times Sortice LAS VEGAS — Rock Newman always said. "I'm hurning my bridges behind me."

Riddick Bowe's manager, who has made negotiating an adversari-al art, is now the manager of a former champion. And that means, Newman admitted, "We'll have to

work our way up again. Dan Duva will not give me a championship fight. I understand that." That is precisely what Duva, who promotes Evander Holyfield, said Sunday in the wake of his fighter's stunning upset to reclaim his world heavyweight titles.

"There will be no Bowe-Holy-field III," claimed Duva. But the two fighters said they

wanted to get at each other again. Bowe, six stitches over his left evelid and the hridge of his nose scarred from a bloody beating, said he wanted to fight Holyfield again, But the once-again champion said he isn't sure he wants to con-

"It's 50-50 I'll retire." he said, his eves covered with dark glasses. But if I do come back, I want a rematch with Riddick Bowe." Bowe put his arm around Holy-

field, a lender gesture considering that 15 hours earlier they had pounded away, nonstop, for 12 rounds. Now, after two fights, each having won once. they seemed truly to respect the other.

Their managers and promoters. though, don't have to make nice. So Duva said that, if Holyfield doesn't retire, he suspects his fighter will want to meet Lennox Lewis to unify the heavyweight title. When Bowe captured the crown from Holyfield 51 weeks ago, the three titles were the World Boxing Association, the World Boxing Council and the International Boxing Federation crowns. Bowe gave up the WBC title when he refused

#### Lillehammer Posts 'No Smoking' Sign

Reuters

OSLO — Organizers of the 1994 Winter Olympics pledged Monday to give smokers a hard time at the Games, even discouraging specta-tors from lighting up outdoors.

wing. The wings used on paragliding down. in the future. Organizers, signing a "Smoke-free Games" deal with the World ter his last light — his second title anybody, that's usually all that matters. Health Organization, said every ticket for the Lillehammer Games Wife Commits Suicide as the Tragedies Continue for Ex-Champ Chuvalo defense in May against Jesse Ferwould have a message against than 250," Newman said. "I was smoking, alcohol and litter on the hoping that the longest training back, while loudspeakers would camp of his career would be He retired in 1979 and the family often A haggard-looking Chuvalo said he was were released from prison recently after who took 10 punches to land one and The Associated Press broadcast anti-smoking messages. TORONTO - There seems to be no devastated. serving time for armed robberies of phar- Lynne hated to watch her husband fight. struggled after that, said a family friend, enough to compensate." end to the grief endured by George Chuvamacies in Toronto. 10 1985, Chuvalo's But she said she couldn't stay at home-"Norway isn't a police state, but It didn't, and compounding Mort Greenberg. "I loved her like crazy." he told CBCcompetitors can be bothered by Bowe's problem was his misjudgyoungest son, Jesse, killed himself with a lo's family. when he was in the ring. TV. "She was cracker-jack smart, she had a Greenberg said he spoke to Lynne Chusmoke from the crowds," said Tor-The former Canadian heavyweight gun in the family's home. He was 20. ment that he could knock out Holygreat heart," she was "the best grandmoth-In 1970, he blamed her for his loss to valo before her death and that she was champion's 30-year-old son, George Jr., er in the world. ill Broch Seeberg, a director with field almost any time that he Chuvalo and his wife both came from George Foreman when she ran to the edge worried about losing their heavily mortthe organizing committee. pleased. died of a heroin overdose last week lower-middle class families in Toronto. "I'm just coping hour hy hour," said Chuvalo, 55, who had found his wife's of the ring, screaming for the referee to gaged home, "the one prize that was left." No tobacco will be sold at sports No tobacco will be sold at sports arenas and smoking will be hanned able to smash Holyfield, just smash Then Thursday. Chuvalo's wife, Lynne, They married when she was just 15 and he stop the fight as he absorbed a beating. 50, died of an overdose of sleeping pills. "She was the backbone of that family," was IR at all indoor evenIs. Organizers are body on their bed. him. and not go the distance." Newman said. "In that sense he Chuvalo was Canadian heavyweight said Greenberg, a former CBC cameraman who met the Chuvalos in 1963. Police said there were "no suspicious cir-By 16, she had given birth to a son. Mitchell, the first of five children born in holding talks with the national rail cumstances" surrounding the death. champion in the 1960s and faced Muham-The two suicides are the latest in a string service, hoping to make all trains really trained more for a seven or "She'd been depressed over the death of mad Ali, Joe Frazier and Foreman, He lost of tragedics to hit the Chuvalo family. from Oslo to Lillehammer - a eight rounder. That is a young seven years. her son," said Detective Randy Hatherly to all three, but he was never knocked "She held everything in place until the two-hour ride — non-smoking. lighter's mislake." of the Toronto police. George Jr. and his hrother, Steven, 32, George Chuvalo was known as a boxer effort just overcame her." down in 96 fights. **DENNIS THE MENACE** PEANUTS CALVIN AND HOBBES DID YOU FIND LET'S JUST SAY NE NEED SOME BIG LIKE HHAT? HERE'S THE WORLD SUDDENLY, OUT OF WITH UNBELIEVABLE FEARING & FIERY WHAT'S A SUPPER DID YOU DO YOU MENN YOU DON'T KNOW OFFICK WARI FLYING ACE EXPLOSION HE LEAPS NOWHERE A HAIL OF SKILL HE GUIDES DISH DOING ON GLOVES AND A POCKETS OF UK\_SURPRISH WERE THIS BULLETS RIPS THE SEARCHING THE SK THE STRICKEN FROM THE COCKPIT! THE RUNWAY ?! HENY STICK AS HING. 15 ? FOR HIS ENEMY, FABRIC OF HIS CRAFT BACK TO BEFORE YOU THE RED BARON ත THE AERODROME SOPWITH CAMEL! BLONDIE WIZARD of ID ANSEL BUNSTEAD WAS A WILDLIFE PHOTOGRAPHER HOW -I ESPECIALLY ENJOYED THE MEDLEY NICE OF YOUR MOST FAMOUS DROPS THANKS ROUTINE BUNG "TO ALL DOCTORS HAVE TO USE A HEARING AND 2" JUNELE. IN MARY AND AND AND HITEL BEETLE BAILEY **REX MORGAN** I DON'T KNOW THAT MIND IF I SARGE SHE MIGHT STUFF WHAT TO ORDER GOFOR MY SURGERY IS SCHEDLILED FOR TOMORROW MORNING ! CAN YOU MANAGE WITHOUT ME TRY THIS? STOP THAT HAVE GERMS! SHE'S EATING WORRY DON'T KEBTUC GOOL ABOUT WHAT THE DOCTOR PRACTIC  $(\mathbf{x})$ HARGED FOR HIS ORMMEY ļœ  $\overline{\mathbf{D}}$ - $\overline{\mathbf{D}}$ Wilson Di Rate DOONESBURY GARFIELD (NO. JUST GET OUT OF THERE BOOPSIE! I AT DAY CAR THOUGHT GOD! TRY TO FIND TH SHE'S FINE DO YOU WANT ME TO TRY TO YEAH, THE TAN ONES AND MY DECDOR-HOLDON TO DALL ME IN GARFIELD I JUST ALARRERGGGHHHHH I GOTTA RIDA GASP 20 400 To our readers in Switzerland It's never been easier to subscribe and save. Just call our Zurich office toli free: 155 57 57 or fox: (01) 481 82 88

to meet Lewis, the No.1-ranked

challenger. According to Duva, the four best heavyweights in the world are Holyfield. Bowe, Lewis and Michael Moorer. Moorer had a contract to fight the winner of Saturday's hout hui could be induced to step aside for a Holyfield-Lewis showdown if he were guaranteed a big payday in a nonuite fight. And Bowe's future" Newman

mentioned the 6-foot, 7-inch (2-meter) Jorge Luis Gonzilez, who got his 17th victory (and 16th knockout) on the undercard Saturday night. The Cuban-born Gonzalez scored a 10th-round knockout over Renaldo Snipes, the 37-yearold contender of another era.

The deals, of course, will depend on money. The only fight right now, that appears to approach the potential of Holyfield-Bowe II is Holyfield-Bowe III. Holyfield was guaranteed at least S9 million while Bowe will earn at least S11 million. depending on the final pay-perview figures.

A Lewis-Holyfield bout would be popular among the British, but Lewis's name does not hold magic in the United States. For Bowe, who reveled in being

champion, losing was a first-time How come," he asked, "nobody

sent me flowers last night?" Bowe: 'He Tricked Me' William Gildea of The Washing-

experience.

ton Post reported; "Let me tell you, he shook me up a couple of times," the dethroned Bowe said as he walked through the almost vacant lobby at Caesars Palace the morning after the fight. "Our first fight he didn't do that.

He tricked me, too. I was looking for his right hand hook, and he crossed me up by throwing lefts. I kept looking and that was why l was late with my punches." Bowe attributed his sluggish performance to his "layoff"

round May, but refused to say that his weight, which he let balloon to nearly 300 pounds (136 kilograms) during the summer, was a factor. His manager, Rock Newman, disagreed.

Part of the fight was against himself, trying to lose the weight," Newman said, "He wasn't the best he could be. I think this experience will encourage him to be at his best



James Miller being taken by police from a hospital in Las Vegas after landing at ringside in the seventh round of the title fight.

### **The Charge: 'Dangerous Flying'**

has been charged by police with a misdemeanor: "dangerous flying."

pilot of the parasail - a contraption that included a parachute, a motorized propeller and a small cage containing the propeller circled the stadium, floated be-

and silly. Identified as James Miller, 30, of nearhy Henderson, Nevada, he was right, I'll do it." handcuffed and taken on a stretch-

Hospital after he toppled into the you right back." Finally: "Where was I? One, first row, where a number of people

piled on him, some throwing two, three, aaaiiicecee." Dunches. Later Sunday, a man who an-

A nursing supervisor at the hos-pital said Miller was released after facts and make a decision who he's

and it will be reviewed."

the motorized propeller, before he finally came sweeping down into the ring's ropes.

Initial reports said Miller was skydiving, a sport in which a parachutist is dropped out of an air-plane. Parasailors, however, can aunch themselves from the ground, with a motorized propeller, or off the roof of a building or a Cannarozzi, owner of the Imitari

skydiving club and school io Las Cannarozzi said Miller is not a member of Imitari, nor is he known by management there.

Paragliding is very similar to hang gliding, Cannarozzi said. The major difference is that hang gliders use a rigid, alumioum wing to support their weight, while paragliders and parasailors use a flexible

rectangular in shape: parassilors use a round-shaped wing. It is a sport that has been popular in Eu-rope but is only catching on in the United States. Bowe's pregnant wife, Judy,

fainted in the commotion and was taken to University Medical Center Hospital after being tended to by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who hiniself was hrushed by the glider's ropes as it swooped in. Bowe's trainer, 81year-old Eddie Fnich, also was taken to the hospital after the fight with heart palpitations. Both were

released Sunday morning. A Bowe aide, Bernard Brooks was cut on the head by the Sr glider's cage and needed stitches. Miller just missed hitting the hundreds of people clustered around ringside and was only a rope strand away from burtling into the 20-foot ring as the Bowe and Holyfield fought, Holyfield was one of the first in the arena to see the man floating to earth.

"He just started running from me," Bowe said. "He hauled butt. He was running from me and then f looked up and saw this guy come

Are Cuba's Boxers Now Up for Sale?

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-210

L AS VEGAS — The exodus of Cuban athletes has begun the same Seven Cuban track-and-field athletes, including lavier Sotomayor, the world record-holder in the high jump, are expected to compete next year as professionals for the Madrid-based Larios sports club in a deal with

the Cuban Track and Field Commission. To the boxing people here for the Riddick Bowe-Evander Holyfield heavyweight title fight, the track-and-field arrangement meant only one thing: Can Cuban heavyweight Félix Savon and his Olympic gold-medal mates be far behind?

"I'm going to Cuba next month to explore bringing some of their best amateur fighters to the United States and turning them pro." Lou Duva was saying. "I heard about the track thing about n year ago from my people in Miami."

Duva, a co-trainer of welterweight champion Pernell Whitaker and father of promoter Dan Duva, declined to identify the "people in Miami" other than to describe them as his "Cu-

han connection" to what is happening Varitage in Havana now. Point

"This has to be done the right way. POINT through government channels." Lon Duva said. "I don't want these fighters to defect. If they did, they would be uneasy fighters to live with. I would keep them together with separate trainers

"It would take time to get them to make the adjustment from amateur to pro," Duva added. "Going from three-round amateur fights to 4, 6, 2, 10 and eventually 12 rounds. Teaching them to move more, to punch to the body, to bob and weave."

Savon, a lean and handsome 210-pound heavyweight with a knockout punch, was chosen as the outstanding boxer in the 1992 Summer Games Barcelona, Spain,

in Barcelona, Spain. The six other Cuban gold-medal boxers were superheavyweight Ro-berto Balado, middleweight Ariel Hernández, light-middleweight Juan Lemus, light-weiterweight Hector Vinant, bantamweight Joel Casa-mayor, and light-flyweight Rogello Marcelo. "I know some of their fighters from being around them at the Olympics and at other international meets," Duva said. "I know some of their efficient tea "

officials too,"

TNTIL THE CASTRO REGIME, several Cuban-born boxers devel-U oped into world champions, notably Kid Chocolate, Kid Gavilan, Jose Napoles and Luis Rodriguez. Jorge Luis González, who knocked out Renaldo Snipes on the title bout's undercard, has a 17-0 record with 16 knockouts since defecting from Cuba. He had been the heavyweight on the Cuban teams that boycotted the 1984 and 1988 Olympics.

If the Castro regime were to allow its best boxers to turn pro, it might also permit a few members of its Olympic baseball champions to sigo

with major league clubs. Another Cuban defector, right-hander René Arocha, had ao 11-g record with a 3.78 earned-run average for the St. Louis Cardinals as a rookie during the recent season. The New York Meis hold the rights to a touted 21-year-old shortstop. Reynaldo Ordóniz, who defected from Cuba's team during last summer's World University Games in Buffalo, New York.

Cuba's willingness to allow its track and field stars to earn money as professionals is similar to the former Soviet Union's willingness to let some of its bockey players join National Hockey League teams a few years ago, before the Soviet government collapsed. The Soviet hockey federation received a fee for each player,

With the Soviet Union's collapse, Citha, under Fidel Castro, is now one of the world's few Communist nations. Cuba reportedly is desperate for hard currency and desperate to keep its best athletes from delecting.

The deal with the Spanish track and field clah might placate those seven athletes, whose only rewards up to now have been a better standard of living: a nicer apartment, a better car, a nod from Castro.

One drawback for Castro would be the loss of Olympic eligibility for Savon, Balado and the other Cuban boxers for the 1996 Summer Games in Atlanta. Track and field athletes do not lose Olympic eligibility for

accepting prize money; boxers would. But as pros, the boxers, especially Savon; eventually might generate millions for Castro's treasury. When there's a for-sale sign on anything or

#### By William Gildea X-rays came up negative. He was going to talk to and what he's going and parasailing are actually para-immediately taken to the Clark to do. Any offers or proposals chutes. Paragliders deploy a wing County Detention Center, where you've got, just stick it on the fax Bashington Post Service LAS VEGAS — The man who he was booked, then released. crashed a motorized parasail into the Caesars Palace outdoor stadi-The \$200 bond is the standard sum for misdemeanors. His trial is scheduled for Nov. 30 in Clark County Justice Court. with pictures from a himp above the outdoor arena, showed that Miller made several passes, using um. disrupting the heavyweight championship fight between Rid-dick Bowe and Evander Holyfield,

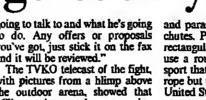
The telephone number listed to James Miller of Henderson had an In one of the strangest sights ever winessed at a sporting event, the appeared to indicate that he had planned a daredevil stuol. answering machine message that anned a daredevil stuoi. The recording, sometimes ram-

hling and incoherent, said: "Hey, guys, you think this is really sane? I mean. I've never jumped off a neath the canopy above the ring, hridge with a bungee cord attached or off the roof of a building or a then landed on the top rope of the to me before while holding onto a cliff. They can also be towed by a ring in the middle of the seventh phone recorder. It's really stupid ground vehicle, according to Tom hridge with a bungee cord attached

"Who called me a chicken? All

Then, the most nonsensical part: er to University Medical Center "If I don't live through this, I'll call

swered the phone at Miller's resi-The incident disrupted the fight for almost 20 minutes and created dence hut declined to be identified, chaos in the packed ringside area. told The Associated Press that

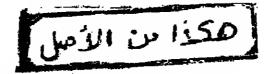


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## A Mad, Mad World Of Hitting the Wall

**SPORTS** 

By Michael Janofsky

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much straight. They are only tears the odds against an unpleasant ex-of joy at the finish line because the perience. In general, experts recmadness is over. The body gets the rest of the day off. No more blisters, for the time being. No more take of carbohydrates like breads erangs. No more dizziness, nausea, and pasta. lightheadedness, diarthea, vomit-ing, chills, headaches, numbress and/or those pained expressions that make you very unattractive. Gee, isn't running a marathon

While a vast majority of runners who plan to start the 24th New York City Marathon next Sunday might regard finishing 26.2 miles (42.16 kilometers) as the ultimate athletic experience, the race will not pass for many of them without the pain of achievement. For most numers, even the elite, that means hitting the dreaded "wall."

While it's not exactly like running head-first into the Great Wall of China, it's close.

The confounding aspect for most runners is that they can never be sure when the collision might occur. Fearing it, some might even spend the first 20 miles or so grind-

Thad been warned about the wall, but I told people I was going to run over it. under it or around it. 'But I ran into it, all right.' Floyd Patterson

ing down their nerves in anticipa-tion. More experienced marathoners are more adept at fighting off negative thoughts, but it doesn't cessarily climinate the inevitable. Tom Fleming, a two-time winner of New York (1973 and 1975) who. now coaches runners, remembers, feeling fine well into another New York marathon when suddenly, "I got that slow, sinking feeling. In those days, the medical community was less sophisticated about how to prevent wall effects, which happen, essentially, because

of the loss of glycogen, the energy-producing byproducts of carbohydrates - m short, fuel for the muscles. Fleming could only think of

By Michael Janofsky New York Times Service NEW YORK — Let's get this between the strategy proper training and eating habits in the days leading to the race can raise Ommend reducing the mileage the final week and increasing the in-

During the race, many runners replenish the body's hquids by drinking water, juices, drinks that provide electrolyte replacement, like Exceed or Gatorade, or some home brew, Skinner drinks only watermelon juice.

Trouble is, in a race of such distance, a runner cannot always be prepared for the unexpected, like extreme weather conditions or nervousness. Also, runners must guard against feelings of euphoria or in-vincibility early in the race that would result in pushing the pace. A marathoner accustomed to running 10-minute miles would be crazy to cruise through the first 3 miles in 21 minutes unless, of course, hitting the wall fulfills some sort of masochistic mission.

Athletes in wheelchairs propelling themselves with their arms and shonlders can suffer the same symptoms as runners. Mark Polard, 48, a financial consultant for Merrill Lynch in Plainsboro, New Jersey, will be racing through New York for the fourth time. In his first effort, he said, he began feeling dizzy into the 16th mile, coming up First Avenue. He stopped, looked out into a sea of people and "every-

thing was fuzzy." A critical factor for any runner to bear in mind, said Jay T. Kearney, a senior sports physiologist for the U.S. Olympic Committee, is knowing what performance train-ing has made possible. A four-hour marathoner is unlikely to have a career race and shave an hour off his or her best time.

If early in the race, that appears to be the case, get ready for the.

"The closer you come to pushing our time, the sooner you will suffer the consequences of cumulative fatigue," Kearney said. "As you stay below it, it will be easier to work through any discomfort with less complications."

While the benefits of proper training and diet are widely recognized as the best guarantees of a safe and successful marathon, many runners regard them as a given and that the more important variable is mental toughness. Pollard contends that up to 80 percent of any race is psychological and that pain is merely another obstacle to overcome. He recited a favorite

line from a Tom Wolfe novel as his finding a quick hit of energy. Ine from a Tom Wolfe novel as his "I was in Harlem at the time, watchwords, "Only those willing to maybe 21 miles into the race," Ine. go too far will know how far they said. "I stopped and bonnoed 32: the got off this guy, ran into a store and "Skinner, whose best time is 2 bought a soda and some Twinkies. bours, 40 minutes, says he never So, with all that sugar, boom, my runs against other runners, only energy level skyrocketed up. But 15 himself, which is difficult enough "In be able to get off a 3 when minutes later, I crashed. I was right when he hits the wall. "It's quite an experience," he said. "But the key The depletion of glycogen in the is, don't take the pain seriously. Let legs has the effect of tarming the it go through you." key and shutting off the mator. Or, as Floyd Patterson, the for-Some runners can recall the sheer mer heavyweight boxing champiinability to take another step after on, once noted, you just cope. Be-the pain hits. For many, it happens: fore running in the 1983 New York over the latter stages of a race, from City Marathon, Patterson talked the 20th mile on. But it could hap- about his encounter with the wall in pen sooner if the runner has ex- his first marathon, a race in Stockpended too much energy in the ear- holm 16 months before. "I had been warned about the In any case, marathon spectators wall, but 1 told people 1 was going along First Avenue in Manhattan, to run over it, under it or around it," he said. "But I ran into it, all from miles 16 to 20, have the best 1," he said. But I was mile r, an mto r, delivers ice for a living, But the pain and feelings of dis-arms. 1 was so tired I lost the next



Don Shula had a question for the Dolphins' quarterback, Scott Mitchell, during the loss to the Jets, and it wasn't: How's your folks?

### **Knicks** Get A Message, And Like It

The Associated Press The Cleveland Cavaliers wanted to send the New York Knicks an

early season message. It turned out to be the wrong one, though. The Cavahers, one of the favor-ites to make the Eastern Conference finals, along with the Knicks, showed their stuff by taking a big first-half lead Sunday night, but could not hold on as Patrick Ewing scored 44 points and John Starks made a 3-pointer that forced over-

NBA HIGHLIGHTS

time before New York posted a 115-107 victory at the Richfield

Starks, who had missed nine of his previous 10 shots, sank a 3pointer from the left side that tied it at 103 with 1.7 seconds left in regu-

### **Daly Barred** From Tour Indefinitely The Associated Press

Louis Oliver. KAPALUA, Hawaii - John Daly's lastest disqualification has 8:43 left in the fourth guarter and left his future on the PGA Tour in provided the coup de grace for a doubt

"In the final analysis, John has to be responsible for his own actinns and I have to do what I have to do." the Tour's commis Deane Beman, said Sunday after handing the 1991 PGA champion an indefinite suspension for failing to complete Friday's second round

nf the Kapalua International. "I care about him, I like him, hut

some of the things he does are unacceptable." Beman said. "John now knows emphatically he can't quit. You can't go out there and walk off the golf course."

Daly picked up his ball on the 11th green after missing a birdie put following three double-bogeys. Daly went through a rehabilita-

reported: Raiders 16, Bears 14: Chicago's rally fell short when Kevin Butler

been decided.

Crenshaw ran for 162 against the Giants in 1968.

By Leonard Shapiro

Washington Post Service

With quarterback Boomer Esia-

Bulfalo is 7-1 after beating the

stretch against teams with losing

records that could propel New ork into the divisional race.

Shula, who even allowed his wife

of three weeks, Mary Anne, to trav-

el bere on the team plane. must now wait to hreak George Halas's

record until next week, when Mi-

Esiason had touchdown passes

of 17 and two vards to tight end

Johnny Mitchell and a 12-yarder to

wide receiver Chris Burkett, who

made a leaping catch over safety

That last touchdown came with

lets team that has now beaten the

Mitchell, who took over for the

injured Dan Marino, struggled for the first time, He was 23 for 44

passing for 293 yards, although

much of it came after the game had

previous five games between the teams, including the Dolphins'

only previous loss, a 24-14 triumph

"They're a good team on days they play against us. I don't know

In other games, wire services

Cardinals 16, Eagles 3: Rookie

The Cardinals scored on their

Moore ned a franchise record

about other times," said Sbula.

in the second week of the season.

The Jets had won four of the

Dolphins twice this season.

ami plays in Philadelphia,

Redskins 30, Colts 24: Darrell EAST RUTHERFORD, New ersey - There would be no Green returned a jumble 79 yards for a touchdown in the first period drenching from a water bucket, no and Washington ended a six-game waves to the crowd for Don Shula. losing streak with quarterback Mark Rypien scoring twice on 1-His coronation as king of all National Football League coaches had vard runs. The Redskins had a 30been postponed for at least a week by the New York Jets.

#### NFL ROUNDUP

10 lead before the Colts scored two touchdowns in the final two min-In earlier games, reported u

appointed Miami Dolphins, who tome Monday editions: had come to the Meadowlands to win Shula his 325th game. Bills 13. Patriots 10: Steve Chris-

tic tied it with a 27-yard field goal with 14 seconds left in regulation, then kicked a 32-yarder 9:22 into overtime as Buffalo won at New England.

**Oilers 24, Seahawks 14: Warren** Instead, the Dolphins lost for Moon passed for 369 yards and two touchdowns as Houston beat visit ing Seattle.

 Ouarterback Bernie Kosar was cut Monday, ending a short and stormy relationship with the Cleveland Browns' coach. Bill Belichick. Kosar had agreed to a non-guaranteed seven-year. \$26 million contract extension this year. (AP, UPI)

**Court Balks** At Arrests in Luge Assault

The Associated Press

MEININGEN, Germany suspect in the neo-Nazi attack on members of the U.S. luge team has heen arrested, but a court has rejected arrest warrants for two others, a prosecutor said Monday. About 15 neo-Nazis beat up Duncan Kennedy of Lake Placid, New York, in a bar in the eastern German mountain resort of Oherhof nn Oct. 29 after the skinheads had taunted a black teammate. Prosecutor Peter Möckel said the court in nearby Suhl ordered the arrest of a 21-year-old suspect over the weekend. Prosecutors had protested the court's earlier conditional release of the youth, Möckel

He said the prosecutor's office was appealing the court's refusal to order the arrests of two other sus-

pecis

Page 21

hmai said. "I stopped and bounded \$2! can go?"

> back where I was." key and shutting off the mator. iv miles.

> from miles 16 to 20, have the best

comfort are relative. Some runners three or four rounds, but the crowd 'can plow through it all; many can't. They either stop, walk; trot, then pick up the pace when and if that recomes possible.

to avoid hitting the wall. But no Sunday will understand.

SCOREBOARD

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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FOOTBALL

NFL Standings

Mioro] N.Y. Jets

'0

New England

started cheering for me, and 1 knew 1 had to do something. Somehow 1 won the last three rounds and the decision. Afterwards, 1 went back

Any two maratheners might to my room and collapsed." have radically different approaches More than a few runners More than a few runners next

Session's Results Buffeto 13, New England 19, 07 Derver 20, Clavetand 14 Daties 31, New York Giants 9 Printbursh 24, Clacimati 14 San Dieso 20, Alimenta 17

as 31. Ne. abursh 24. Closs. a Dieso 38. Minneento seuston 24. Scottle 14 Deiroit 23. Tampa Bay 0 Las Angeles Rolden's 14. Chicaso 14 New York Jets 27. Miami 18 Phoenix 16. Philosephila 3 Schlassion 30. Indianaoolis 24 Scott Atkanta. Les Any Scott Francisco

Canadian League

Western Div

Saturday's Result Sacranaento 14. British Columbi

Sunday's Rest Ottawa 27, Hamilton 26 Wishipagi 12, Toronso 10 Edmonton 39, Coleary 21.

The AP Top 25

Socramento 6 12 0 496 512 12 2 points awarded for a victory; 1 for a tie.

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they know that's the only thing that can beat them is an accomplish-ment in itself," said the Knicks' coach, Pat Riley. The Knicks' defense took over in overtime, limiting the Cavs to 1-of-9 shooting and holding them scoreless from the field over the final four minutes. Ewing Charles Oakley and An-thony Mason each scored four

points in the extra period. Oakley's tip-in of a missed shot by Starks out the Knicks ahead for good at 109-107 with two minutes left. Mason then sank a 15-footer and Ewing sealed it with four foul shots down the stretch.

Brad Dangherty had 26 points and 11 rebounds, Danny Ferry matched his career high with 21 points and Mark Price scored 19 for Cleveland

Nets 99, Spans 73: Derrick Cole-man scored 29 points and Kenny Anderson 19 as New Jersey won in San Antonin by holding the Spurs to their lowest offensive output in franchise history. The team's previous poorest

score during the regular season was an 80-point outing against the Los Angeles Lakers in 1990. Coleman also contributed 13 re-

5. Ohio SI. 6. Tennesse

8. Floride

13. Arizono 14, Wisconsin 15, North Corn 16, Penn St.

9. West Virsiolo 10. UCLA 11. Texas: A&A 12. Alabama

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22. Boston Coli 23. Wyoming 24. Konsos St.

Orlando Basián Migmi

New Jersey Philodelphi

Detroit Allania Chariotte

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BASKETBALL

EASTERN CONFERENCE

**Castrol Di** 

Atlantic Division

**NBA Standings** 

bounds and Anderson had 10 assists to help New Jersey claim only

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on program this year in the wake missed a 30-yard field goal attempt of his publicized drinking problems. The suspension requires him Soldier Field. to seek professional counseling.

"He needs support, he needs un-Harbaugh threw a 13-yard touchderstanding and he needs profesdown pass to Terry Obee with 1:13 sional help." Beman said. "John to play. The Bears then recovered has made great strides in the last an onside kick and moved to the 2. year, but he bas additional chalbut Butler missed his kick. lenges to conquer. Butler also missed from 21 yards

with 5:21 remaining as the Bears lost their third straight. Jeff Jaeger "On one hand we're not going to permit him to play, hut on the other hand we are going to support him. He can be a very positive force for kicked three field goals for the Raiders. golf. It's a difficult time for him." Daly, who was disqualified from Ron Moore rushed for 160 yards as the Kemper Open on May 23 and withdrew from the Southern Open Phoenix ran over visiting Philadelphia. The Cardinals gained 243 on Oct. 3, already was on probayards on the ground a week after tion. Since the suspension stems Emmitt Smith ran for 237 yards in from revocation of prohation that Daly agreed to, it is not subject to Dallas 13-point victory over the Eagles. appeal, Beman said.

Bernan said be made his decision first four possessions, as Greg Daafter speaking with Daly earlier. vis kicked field goals of 23, 20 and

The suspension affects any PGA 29 yards, and Chris Chandler threw Tour-related events for the rest of this year and will continue for an undetermined length next year.

on Nov. 18-21, the Skins Game on Nov. 27-28 and the JC Penney Classic on Dec. 2-5.

diately after the attack, but four on the final play of the game at were quickly released. A fifth was kept in jail, but for the beating of a Los Angeles led. 16-7, when Jim German last year.

• The mother of swimming star Franziska van Almsick said in an interview published Monday that she collaborated with the Stasi secret police when she was an East German sports official in the 1980s. But Juita van Almsick, 42, offered no apologies.

sls

"It's true that I always stood up for this country," East Germany," she told the the tahloid newspaper BZ. "I don't deay that, in contrast in many other people."

Der Spiegel magazine said the Stasi highly valued van Almsick's information, which reportedly disrupted several carcers.

Her daughter has charmed Ger-many with her swimming victories and lured lucrative sponsors, making her one of the richest 15-yearolds in Germany. She won two silver and two

bronze medals at the 1992 Olympics, then won six gold medals at the European Championships in August in Sheffield. England.

In a documentary Sunday night, Germany's ARD relevision showed the Communists' fanatical drive to know everything. The Stasi employed 85.000 people full time. Another 300,000 East Germans were "informal collahorators," giving information to headquarters.

But Jutta van Almsick said she never hurt anyone. "I can look in the mirror with a clear conscience." she said.

#### BASEBALL

warvega Toda Aunali, center. CHARLOTTE--Woived Kevin Lynch, suard-forward. Signed Steve Henson, suand. FOOTBALL Hentikena Football Leopue MINNESOTA--Put Jim McMathan, guar-

erbock: Ed McDaniel, linebocker: Olanda

Truill, wide receiver; and Esera Tudola, de-tensive tackle on inactive list. TAIMPA BAY—Activated Curtis Buckley,

defensive back, and Shawn Price, de

linemon, )ram proclice squod.

France Passes Strict Law Foothall hooligans risk a oneyear jail term in France for wearing Nazi symbols in stadiums under a new law passed Monday by the parliament, Agence France-Presse reported.

Sports Minister Michele Allini-Marie drafted

The law was drafted in large part because of increasing numbers of incidents inspired by swastika brandishing supporters of the Paris St. Germain club.

Any insignia taken into stadiums referring to or promoting a "racist or xenophobic ideology or xenophobic ideology" will now face a 100,000 franc (\$18,250) fine and up to one year in jail.

Any slogan or gesture inciting violence toward the referee or any player could bring the same jail term or fine.

Drunken supporters, or those altempting in take alcohol into grounds will face a 50,000 franc fine. A three-year jail term could be imposed for attempting to take anything considered a dangerous wearon into a studium.

Paris St. Germain supporters have elashed with French not police several times this year, and have attacked several Arab and black African supporters and bystanders.

States 1, Jamaica 0 ITALIAN FIRST DIVISION Parma 2 Juventus 8 BANK OF WEST CLASSIC In Or Singles Final wa 111, U.S., det. Zina Gar

Daly. His whereabouts were unknown. HOCKET First Period: 5J-Makarov 3 (Ozalinsh). Sec-

Jerry Lana, The As Dennis Rodman couldn't stop Derrick Coleman, but the Nets put the brakes on the Spurs, who got only 73 points for the game.

Antonio. Suns 132, Kings 110: Kevin Johnson scored 32 points and had 14 assists while Charles Barkley added 26 points as Phoenix held off Sacramento. The Suns re-Teril Blazers an 0-2 start for the bounded from their opening night ing Trail Blazers an 0-2 start for the loss to the Lakers by dominating first time since 1986.

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SUNDAY'S RESULTS

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its second victory in 23 tries in San under the basket, outrebounding

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NHL Standings

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EASTERN CONFERENCE

Altantic Division W L T Pts GF &A

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a 10-yard touchdown pass to Gary Clark, and held a 16-3 halftime lead. The Eagles, who had scored The events most immediately af- on their first drive, lost their fourth fected will be the Shark Shootout straight. There was no comment from

with 36 carries, equaling marks established last season by Johnny Johnson and by Wayne Morris in 1978. It was the Cardinals' best rushing performance since Willis TTINF GROUSS

ond Period: NJ-Chorske 3 I Richer, Corpen-teri, Third Period: NJ-Guerin 3 I Miller, Ho Ilk1.Shotson gool: NJ7-10-10-27.5J 2-7-6-15

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2 13 1 8 42 SUNDAY'S RESULTS

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non, to Springfield, AHL, for 2 weeks VANCOUVER-Recalled Neil Elsennu), 8 0 **6-3** 0 2 1-3 center, Irom Hamilton, AHL ad Period: C-Gre INTERNATIONAL FRIENDLY 2 1 2-5

rison Jackson |31, U.S., 6-2, 7-6 17-11.

8 1 0 0-1 1 0 0 0-1 HOCKEY First Period: D-Modono 15 IDohlan, Le gyard) (pp). Second Period: W-Mironov 2 (Numminen 199). Third Period: W-Mironov 2 Halleker National Hockey Leopue HARTFIRD—Signed Andrew Casels, cen-ler, to multilyear contract. Sent Dan Keczmer. time: None. Shatson gool: W13-5-20-20.13 10-13-13-3-39. Goolies-W, Essenso. D. Moog. hom 5 (Lemieur, 8, Suffer); C-Matteou 4 (Mur Norski, Chellost, Taird Period: C-Nurby 7 (Roenick, Kučera). Skotson godi: E9-68-22. C 10-16-9-35. Godiles—E, Brothwolte, C, Bellour, tonovt; P-Francis 4 Liver, McSorley1; A-

Tengol; P-Pronos 4 (Jost, Alcaoner); A-Yeike Si Comback, Socoa); P-Stevens 7 (Toc-chel, Francis) (pp), Second Pariod: 5, Ananheim, Semenov S (Kosatanov, Holder) (pp), P-Romsey 1 (Mullen, Murphy), Third Pariod: P-Sievens 8 (Murphy); P-Joor 9 (Mullen, Francis); A-Comback 2, Shots on Conter D 21 5 (0, 7), 6) (10), 00 geol: P 13-15-10-38, A 11-10-9-30, Gootles Wreaget A. Hebert

Pittsburgh Montreal Boston Queboc Ottowa Butfalo Hortford Reboands—New York 57 (Oakley 22), Cleve-land 43 (Dougherty 11), Assists—New York 35 (Rivers 11), Cleveland 29 (Price 12). 
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WESTERN CONFERENCE Midwest Division W L Pct 2 0 1.000 2 0 1.000 GB (Ololuwon 7), Portland 24 (Parter 4),

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The Top Twenty Five terms in the callege football pair with first-place votes to perso-theses, recards fibroach Nov. 6 total points based an 25 points for a first-place vote fibroach one point for a 25th-place vote, and ranking in the previous soil: Pts PF PA 750 183 154 825 219 158 .250 171 222 Record PisPv 9-04 1,550 1 9-0-9 1,485 2 Uten 7-1-8 1,386 4 Houston 7, Florida St. (22) . Notre Dome 250 137 192

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Page 22

of the season

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**Dividing Menotti's Dutics** 

Washington Post Service

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Buchwald

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To

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1993

**ART BUCHWALD** 

### Health Care Scrimmage

 $W^{\text{ASHINGTON} - 1t \text{ is co}}_{\text{longer a question of whether}}$ When the player is injured he'd show the card to the referee who would call for a stretcher to take him off the field. He could then be the Washington Redskins will go in the Super Bowl or not, hut whether they will have enough health hene-fits 10 carry them through the rest taken to the hospital of his choice, which must accept him even if it is located in Buffalo. The Redskins have sustaioed so The doctor will be compensated

many injuries this year that their with a fce of \$10 for an office visit or two lickets to a Redskins band medical insurance has run out, and concert.

In the original Clintoo health plan for football players, the gov-ernment intended to provide two crutches for broken ankles. But to save money, now the employer will have to pay for one crutch and the player must pay for the other.

If an opposing lineman knocks out a football player's teeth in a game, the player is entitled to six tooth implants and a free cleaning. п

new rules you can have only one Owners of professional football teams are up in arms over the plan. maintaining that they would end up paying most of the costs.

> A Redskins assistant coach told me, "We need hospital beds if we're going to continue as a foothall team. If this program goes through, we will have oo choice but to move

In the meantime. Lloyd's of Lontioo for Redskin players and insists don is pooling its resources in order to get the Redskins through the season. They are not happy about it people said. "The American insuras several syndicates at Llovd's ance industry couldn't care less have gone hankrupt carryiog whether the Redskins are covered Washingtoo's health insurance during the first seveo games. lect their premiums, but let the

As one underwriter explained. "We broke even on cracked ribs, but we were wiped out hy tendinitis

Under Clintoo's plan each foot-ball player would carry a plastic The injuries to the Redskins bave become so severe that management has announced that instead of going for a linebacker and a quarter-back. they are giving up their draft choices to hire two more doctors and huy a CAT scanner.

WASHINGTON - The Spoleto The Redskins coach told me. Festival USA has decided to deal with the departure of its founder Clinton has to have a decent Gian Carlo Menotti, by not replachealth plan for football players being him. Instead, the board split up cause the entire nation is watching responsibilities for the acoual to see if anything he comes up will work or not. The Redskins are per-Charleston, South Carolina, event, It named Spiros Argiris, 45, director fect to experiment with. They all and principal conductor of symneed medical care of one kind or phonic and operatic activities. The another. If the United States can't board retained the chamber music take care of its wounded football and choral directors, Charles Wadsplayers, how can it take care of worth and Joseph Flummerfelt. anvooe else?"

### **Turning France's Cultural Supertanker**

By John Rockwell New York Times Service

PARIS - Any Gaullist successor to the dapper and charismatic Jack Lang would have had an image prohlem. Jacques Toubon, who got Lang's job as minister of culture after the Gaullist sweep in the March elections, is a balding, round-faced, 52-year-old croupier's son from Nice. His main political accomplishment heretofore has been his terrierlike loyalty to Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris, the former prime minister and, both men hope, the

future president. Still, despite the unstoppable momentum of many of the Socialist initiatives, particularly the major Paris huild-ing projects known as the Grands Travaux, Toubon is trying hard in make his mark after seven months oo the joh. Partly through the sheer visibility and patronage his joh entails and partly through the attention mevitably paid him during the current debate on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, he seems to be establishing himself.

Bustling into his Palais Royal offices for a breakfast meeting recently. Touboo did oot yet inhabit these gilded and mirrored quarters with the seigneurial panache of his predecessor. He argues that there is more that is similar than dissimilar between the cultural policies of the left and the right. And that any striking shifts in French cultural

"It is difficult to say what is different about our policy after only seven months," be began. "It's like an oil tanker: if you turn the rudder, the ship doesn't turn for 20 or 30 kilometers. But I helieve there are some noticeable differences.

One of those differences is the simple frustration of pessimistic expectation. France is in a severe recession, with budgetary austerity the order of the day. There is a perhaps ill-considered assumption, inside and outside the country, that the left is more favorable to the arts than the right. Yet Touboo surprised everyone hy raising the 1994 culture hudget to \$2.3 billion. This is slightly more than Lang's 1993 effort, which had set a record. Toubon insisted that come what may, the budget would not sink below that figure.

"Think of André Malraux, Georges Pompidou, Michel Guy, Jacques Chirac: The right has always had an interest in the arts and the avant-garde," he said. "Today, the right has accepted the cultural politics of the last 10 or 15 years. The very idea that culture is the preserve of the left and that the men of the right fought against it, doesn't correspond to any reality.

Nocetheless, to return to his own image of the tanker and its momentum, the cultural politics of the right will be defined for a while by the Grands Travaux, which were all Lang projects or Lang fulfillments of the wishes of his oss, François Mitterrand, the president of France. Most of them are either finished (the Grande Arche de boss,

La Defense, the Bastille Opéra) or so far along that it makes oo sense to stop them. Not to mention that the Gaullists, no foes of grand cultural edifices themselves, prohably think that most of them - like the Grand Louvre and even the disputed Bibliothèque Nationale are pretty good ideas.

So Toubon is reduced, like a good hureaucrat, to ratio-nalizing their completion and picking decent people to run them and the other major state institutions. This he seems to be doing, and several of his decisions have been welcomed. especially his appointment of the French administrator Hugues Gall, oow of the Geneva Opéra, to take over



Colture Minister Jacques Toubon (right) with Prime Minister Edouard Balladur at FIAC art fair.

the beleaguered Bastille Opera when Pierre Berge's presidential appointment expires in 1995. But Toubon is still left adducing what seem basically functional decisions ---like uniting the administrations of the library construction project and its current management - as bold innovations. "My joh is to act in the interests of the institutions, not in the interests of Mr. Mitterrand or in the interests of Mr. Chirac.

Toubon said: "After 1995, a certain part of the budget will be liberated for other things." Thereafter he hopes to do more for the provinces, to boost arts education and to spread the Francophonic good news around the world. But also in 1995, there will be a new president, which could alter the power relationships in the National Assembly and perhaps even lead to a new minister of culture. "We shouldn't be too tied to the monarchical proclivities of the president of the republic. I hope we can make a cultural policy for the years 1995 to 2000 that will be independent of the president, whoever he may be."

When Edonard Balladur, the new prime minister, picked his cahinet last spring, he shuffled some of the responsibilities. In his last year, Lang had taken on the education portfolio in addition to culture and communication. Now. Toubon has lost both communications and education but has gained "Francophonie," making him formally responsible not only for the defense of Frenchlanguage cultural interests at home but worldwide as well.

That puts him squarely in the middle of the GATT debate, wherein French filmmakers, fearful of Holly-wood's domination of the international market, are furiously lobbying for a cultural exemption in the GATT agreement

Toubon can be friendly and funny in conversation, but at the film director Claude Berri's annual conference in the Burgundy wine capital of Beaune in late October, the minister seemed forced into theiorical eraggeration.

In a shouting, table-pounding peroration to a three-and-a-half-hour GAIT debate, his evocation of "love, beanty, and liberty" was met with only polite applause. The audience, already converted, seemed more interested in in the specifics of how to proceed than in jingoism.

The confusion about what to do next lay partly in the bland assurances of David Hartridge, a GATT official who made the first speech at Beanne, that nothing in the current accord would affect France's cherished bulwark of film quotas and subsidies.

Toubon refused reporters' urgings to declare unequivo-cally that the government would refuse to sign the agreement without the andiovisual exemption.

In private, Toubon remains serencly assured not only of the justice of French quotas and subsidies, to protect one of the few still-viable national film industries against the Hollywood onslaught, but of their ultimate wisdom. "Foreigners presume our policy is defending the past, but we think it is the politics of the future. For the moment, market forces favor America. But tomorrow, Hollywood will be demanding public protection, too. Foreigners don't understand that the cultural politics of the left and the right are the same in France. Culture transcends political divisions here. It is part of the national consensus of our country."

Diana Draics the Line

At Photos From Gym

PEOPLE

Princess Diana is outraged by the publication of "peeping tom" photographs of her working out in a gyin and warned that she may sue the newspaper that printed them. And the government hinted that the latest sensational tab story about the royal family had made have to carb the excesses of a prymy press more likely. The Sunday Mirror published the photographs on Sunday, and its sister paper, the Daily Mirror, defied a chorus of mation from politicians and rival newspapers and carried them again on Monday. Ē.

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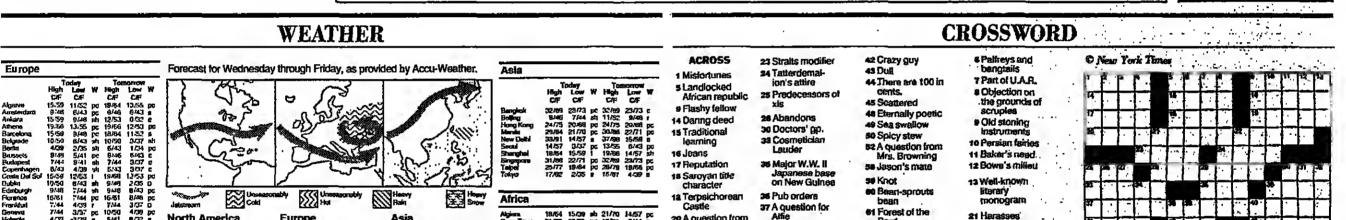
The Lebanese-born French writ-er Amin Masion has won the Goncourt Prize, France's oldest and most prestigious literary award, for his novel "Le Rocher de Tanios" (The Tanios Rock), set in 19thcentury Lebanon. The Goncourt pays a token 50 francs (\$9), but the honor guarantees the winner signif-icant additional sales and media fame. Masiouf won the prize by six votes to two over Michel Bandeau the author of "Mon ami Pierrot" (My Friead Pierrot).

Madonus heeded a indge's warning and left the Brazilian flag out of her act when she appeared in Rio de Janeiro. She limited her outrageousness to uttering a few obscenities in Portuguese. When she performed in São Paulo she wrapped herself in the flag, and the Rio judge threatened to have her arrested if she used the flag improperty.

. . .

Another British actress has been chosen to play the role of Scarlett O'Ham, but producers still aren't saying who will play Rhett Butler. Joanne Whalley-Kilmer, best known for her role as the call girl Christine Keeler in the 1989 movie "Scandal," has been chosen to play the fiery Southern belle in "Scarlett," the TV ministries se-quel to "Gone With the Wind," according to the Atlanta Journal-Constitution. The original 1939 "GWTW" starred Vivien Leigh.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED Appenrs on Page 8 .



On Tim maginativ beaded an ministratic and a smal cal strateg Releasi trol has w seots the campaign back the s economy. Gas, w municatio ferry serv: been retur left of Briv part comj present go The ide heen far fi the 117-p British R: through P Comple for Brita owned and The husin is huge. A! directly h estimated uons. The day carry carries 13 Accord tives of raquality of says, "to entrepren the priva-

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You may stay in a hospital room for only two hours with a broken leg. Groin and collarbone injuries will no longer be paid for unless they were committed oo the line of The Cliaton administration is the team to Mexico." worried about the lack of protec-

Beneval 7/44 3/37 pc 10/50 4/39 pc Hotenia 4/39 -2/29 a 5/41 6/32 e Istarbul 19/61 12/53 ah 15/59 9/40 D Las Palmas 23/73 15/59 pc 25/77 18/98 a Luston 14/57 11/52 pc 13/61 13/55 pc London 12/53 7/44 ah 9/49 4/59 ah Madnd 11/52 4/39 pc 15/59 7/44 pc Macow 1/71 -7/70 s 0/32 -2/25 a Macow 16/81 8/43 pc 15/64 9/49 Noc 16/81 8/43 pc 15/64 9/49 a Noc 16/81 8/43 pc 15/64 9/49 a Noc 16/81 8/43 pc 15/64 9/49 a	North America A tranquil weather pattern will persist across almost all ol North America day through Friday ef this week. Sunshine and pleas- ant seesonable tempera- tures will stretch from New Yerk City te Washington.	m Hierano 21/70 4/39 i 23/73 6/43 i s Legoo 30/86 24/75 in 31/86 25/77 pc y Natrobi 21/70 11/52 pc 23/73 13/55 pc y Turks 19/86 14/57 pc 23/73 14/57 pc y North America	Solution to Puzzle of Nov. 8	<ul> <li>61 Forest of the Bard</li> <li>62 Journey man?</li> <li>63 Very excited</li> <li>64 Expenses</li> <li>65 Bases of meas. or gity.</li> <li>66 Prying</li> </ul>	21 Harasses     41       22 Badger of the tropics     44       25 Paperboy     44       28 Poe householder     52 (53)       27 Gets top billing     52 (53)
Palmat 13/55 10/50 pc 17/62 12/53 a Para 9/48 5/41 pc 9/48 5/41 c Progue 4/59 3/3/7 sh 17/44 3/37 c Renyapara 3/37 1/34 ah 3/37 -1/31 c Rome 17/52 6/43 pc 18/61 6/45 pc Si Petambung 2/35 -4/29 m 3/37 -2/29	O.C. To the west, Vancouver and Seattle will have clouds.     Clouds and showery weather will stretch across much of but just a bit of rain.     Seoul and Tokyo Wedness will stretch across much of France and Germany.       Middle East     Latin America	and Attentia         18/59         7/44         6         17/52         7/44         c           III Bondom         11/52         3/37         pc         10/30         1/31         pc           Chicago         10/50         1/45         2/37         pc         10/30         1/37         pc           Deriver         12/53         -9/29         a         12/53         -3/27         a           Deriver         12/53         -9/29         a         12/53         -3/27         a           Deriver         12/53         1/24         pc         7/44         6/32         pc           HomoNulu         27/80         19/85         pc 24/32         22/71         pc	WOODCOCK SCHUSM Annus Rap Korea Teas Methyl Coterie Val Agalones Eggano	DOWN 1 Ex-Scanish	29 Fill with delight 60 39 Byrd book 61 31 Verdun's river 32 Fall bloomer 64
Stochholm 3:377 2:35 sh 4:39 pt Strasbourg 7:44 3:377 c 16:50 4:39 pt Tallinn 4:759 -2;29 s 8:43 6:32 s Vanice 16:76 16:46 c 16:46 c Vionna 6:43 4:35 ph 7:44 3:377 c Wanzaw 4:599 4:39 sh 7:44 3:37 Wanzaw 4:599 1:341 2:35 c Zurich 7:44 3:377 c 18:50 4:59 pc	Today         Tomorrow         Tomorrow           High         Lowi         W High         Lowi         W High         Lowi         W High           C/F         C/F <td></td> <td>OTRECT LURING ALASKA MADRONAS Ken Encodes Vawned Esso Atisle Tin Aview</td> <td>province, now part of Morocco 2 Meadows 3 Boon to</td> <td>34 Solssons season 36 Honest name 38 A job for an 46 Chairs on 46 Chairs on 46 Like 61 A</td>		OTRECT LURING ALASKA MADRONAS Ken Encodes Vawned Esso Atisle Tin Aview	province, now part of Morocco 2 Meadows 3 Boon to	34 Solssons season 36 Honest name 38 A job for an 46 Chairs on 46 Chairs on 46 Like 61 A
Oceanja Auckland 18/84 17/52 c 18/64 10/50 pc Sydney 22/71 12/53 pc 24/75 17/62 pc	Lucor 36/100 14/57 a 39/102 17/62 a Rio dataného 26/79 19/85 pc 27/80 31/70 a Rivech 29/94 10/81 a 31/88 16/81 a Santiago 31/80 9/46 a 29/79 11/52 a Legend: s-sunny, pc-partly cloudy, o-cloudy, alvehowera, i-thunderstorms, r-rain, al-enew furnies, sn-snow, Hoa, W-Weather. All maps, forecasts and data provided by Accu-Weather, Inc. © 1992	Sen Fran, 20/68 11/52 pc 19/65 9/48 c Seattle 11/52 9/43 sh 8/45 6/43 sh Toronto 7/44 -2/29 pc 4/39 -3/27 pc	GREEDY COCKEREL HANOLE AIRINESS ASSAYS DONNTS	Aladdin 4 Substitute's place 5 Actress Trevor	emcee 47 Young co 39 Bends in the 46 Chirp road 31 Universal 49 Become rotten in Hinduk

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